



HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF
MACEDONIA

DIMITAR BECHEV

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Editor's Foreword

Rarely has there been so much concern about a name. The country that calls itself the Republic of Macedonia (ROM) is called, by the Greeks and some others, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). This confusion is just a continuation of many earlier quarrels over what Macedonia was and—above all—whom it belonged to: the old “Macedonian Question,” one not answered entirely, even today. The modern country still has a very mixed population, which can be a source of not only diversity and richness but also friction and conflict. And its borders are illogical and could possibly be contested, although it seems that the ROM or FYROM is here to stay. Now that the country has existed in its present form for more than a decade, it is becoming somewhat easier to understand its importance and how it could evolve over the coming years. This is important because Macedonia is located in a very strategic part of the Balkans, and it is in the interest of its neighbors that it be a success.

Since this country is difficult to understand, more so even than others in that confusing region, this *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Macedonia* is essential. It goes back almost three millennia to the initial Kingdom of Macedon and follows the country's journey through many metamorphoses, until the present day when it has become a shadow of its former self. The long and complicated voyage is charted in some detail by the chronology, then given considerably more depth in the introduction. The dictionary then examines the many people and events that have shaped the country, including kings, commoners, politicians, partisans, artists, writers, and educators. There are also entries on major places and organizations, as well as general topics such as the economy and foreign policy and the more sensitive issues of language and religion. The bibliography, although not large, is impressive given the limited literature.

Although it deals with the same country and has a title similar to an earlier volume in the series (*Historical Dictionary of Macedonia*, no. 22), this is a completely new book written by a new author, Dimitar Bechev. Not from the Republic of Macedonia itself, he grew up in nearby Bulgaria and obtained master's degrees in both law and international politics from the University of Sofia. He has since moved to Great Britain, where he received a DPhil in international relations from Oxford University and is presently a research fellow at the European Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford. He is affiliated with South East European Studies at Oxford and engages in policy analysis for various think tanks, including Oxford Analytica. He has also written articles for major journals on eastern Europe and the Balkans. This book will be an excellent guide for those of us who want to know more but—until now—did not know where to start.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

This book reflects my long-standing interest in the modern history of the Balkans. To me, the region of Macedonia, the subject of much political and academic contestation over the decades, illustrates the complexity if not ambiguity that underwrites the politics and societies in southeastern Europe. As Chip Gagnon puts it perceptively in his account of the 1990s Yugoslav wars, “[i]f we can learn anything from Balkan history, it is that ethnic identities and the meanings attributed to them are fluid” (*The Myth of Ethnic War*, Cornell University Press, 2004, p. xvi). The dictionary is an attempt to sketch out, through the case of the Republic of Macedonia emerging from the rubble of disintegrating Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, a constellation of themes and issues. Rather than propagating a particular national perspective on the perennial “Macedonian Question(s),” I explore the shifting and contingent notions of collective belonging, the dilemmas of social and economic modernization, and the relationship between the tectonic changes of political order and everyday lifeworlds.

My work benefited from the generosity of many. I am particularly grateful to Kyril Drezov, a meticulous explorer of things Macedonian, for his critical eye and indispensable suggestions concerning earlier drafts of the dictionary. Special thanks to Tchavdar Marinov and Konstantin Pavlov for the countless hours spent in discussing the intricacies of Macedonia’s past and present. I should also mention Professor Richard Crampton and Kerem Öktem, both at the University of Oxford, who commented on various parts of the dictionary, as well as Galina Kostadinova who assisted me in editing the text. I am also indebted to friends and colleagues from Skopje whose kind support and valuable insights were essential in the course of the research and during my trips to Macedonia. Special thanks also to St. Antony’s College, Oxford, and my colleagues at South East European Studies at Oxford for providing me with a second-to-none scholarly environment.

Reader's Notes

The dictionary uses the standard transliteration system from Cyrillic into Latin adopted in Macedonia, which reflects the Latinate spelling of Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian. To be consistent across South Slavic languages, the same graphic system is applied to Bulgarian Cyrillic, despite the fact that it is not the accepted standard in Bulgaria. Hence *Cončev* instead of *Tsonchev*. At the same time, the dictionary employs, in order to be as close to historical context as possible, the original spelling of various personal names rather than the post-1945 Macedonian forms (*Pŕličev* and not *Prličev*; *Dimitri Miladinov* rather than *Dimitrija*). As for place-names, where there is no accepted form in English, the contemporary Macedonian version is used. To broaden the reader's perspective, occasionally the dictionary refers to the Ottoman names of particular locales as well (e.g., Bitola/Manastir). With regard to cities in the present-day Greek province of Macedonia, the dictionary utilizes the contemporary Greek names, since they tend to be more familiar to the English-language reader compared to their Slavic equivalents, which are also added at times. The names of medieval rulers and saints are rendered in their Anglicized forms: Methodius, John, and Basil rather than Metodij(a), Ivan/Jovan, or Vasileios.

To facilitate the reading of personal names and toponyms, a list is provided below of certain characters used in Albanian, Turkish, Romanian, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian, as well as guidelines on pronunciation.

Character	Cyrillic equivalent	Pronunciation
Ă (Romanian); Ȧ (Aromanian)	—	a in <i>above</i>
Â (Turkish)	—	a in <i>lack</i>
Ç	Ц	zz in <i>pizza</i>
Ć (Turkish)	—	j in <i>joy</i>

Č	ч	ch in <i>cheer</i>
Ç (Turkish/Albanian)	—	ch in <i>cheer</i>
Ĉ	Ћ (Serbian)	ty in <i>let you</i>
Dj	Ђ (Serbian)	dy in <i>would you</i>
Dž	Џ (Serbian/Macedonian)	j in <i>joy</i>
	Дж (Bulgarian)	
Ē (Albanian)	—	i in <i>birth</i>
Ğ (Turkish)	—	not pronounced; lengthens the preceding vowel
		i in <i>birth</i>
I (Turkish)	—	y in <i>yes</i>
J	Ј (Serbian/Macedonian)	
	Ї (Bulgarian); Ju rendered as Ю and Ja rendered as Я	
Š	III	sh in <i>shout</i>
Ș (Romanian/Turkish)	—	sh in <i>shout</i>
Ŭ	Ў (Bulgarian)	i in <i>birth</i>
Ű	—	ew in <i>new</i>
Xh (Albanian)	—	j in <i>joy</i>
Y (Albanian)	—	ew in <i>new</i>
Ž	Ж	s in <i>pleasure</i>

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ARM	Army of the Republic of Macedonia
ASNOM	Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia
AVNOJ	Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia
BCP	Bulgarian Communist Party
CPM	Communist Party of Macedonia
CPY	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
DA	Democratic Alternative
DAG	Democratic Army of Greece
DOM	Democratic Renewal of Macedonia party
DPA	Democratic Party of Albanians
DUI	Democratic Union for Integration
EAM-ELAS	National Liberation Front-Greek People's Liberation Army
EU	European Union
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GDP	Gross domestic product
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IMARO	Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization
IMRO	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
IMRO-DPMNU	IMRO-Party for Macedonian National Unity
IMRO-U	IMRO-United
IMRO-UMS	IMRO-Union of Macedonian Societies
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LCM	League of Communists of Macedonia
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia

LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LP	Liberal Party
MANAPO	Macedonian People's Movement
MANU	Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts
MEFO	Macedonian Emigrant Federative Organization
MOC	Macedonian Orthodox Church
MP	Member of Parliament
MPO	Macedonian Political/Patriotic Organization
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NLA	National Liberation Army
NSDP	New Social Democratic Party
OZNA	Department for the Protection of the People
PDP	Party for Democratic Prosperity
ROM	Republic of Macedonia
SDAM	Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia
SMAC	Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee
SNOF	Slavo-Macedonian People's Liberation Front
SRM	Socialist Republic of Macedonia
UDB	State Security Directorate
UN	United Nations
UNPREDEP	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force
U.S.	United States
WAZ	Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung media group
YPA	Yugoslav People's Army

Maps



The Republic of Macedonia (courtesy of the Economist Intelligence Unit)



Former Yugoslavia, 1945–1991 (courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas at Austin)



Geographic Macedonia (reproduced with kind permission of www.collinsbartholomew.com digital databases)

Chronology

Antiquity

8th century BC The Kingdom of Macedon is established.

336–323 BC Reign of Alexander the Great. Macedon reaches the peak of its power with Alexander's conquests in Africa and Asia.

315 BC King Cassander of Macedon founds Salonica.

168 BC Macedon is conquered by Rome.

42 BC October: Near the Macedonian town of Philippi, Mark Antony defeats the troops of Caesar's assassins, Gaius Cassius Longinus and Marcus Junius Brutus.

c. 51 AD St. Paul preaches and wins converts in present-day Greek Macedonia. He visits the same area again in 57–58 AD

306 St. Demetrius is martyred in Salonica.

395 The Roman Empire is divided. Macedonia falls into the eastern half known as Byzantium.

Middle Ages

482 The Eastern Roman emperor Justinian the Great is born in the province of Illyricum. One of the likely birthplaces is in the vicinity of present-day Skopje, where some researchers locate the Byzantine city of Justiniana Prima built by the monarch.

520s–630s The Slavs invade and settle the Balkans. Parts of Macedonia become exclusive Slavic areas, called *Sklaviniai*. Slavic tribes lay siege to Salonica several times between 597 and 626.

670s–680s The Bulgars establish their kingdom in present-day northern Bulgaria. A group headed by Kuber settles in western Macedonia.

688–689 Emperor Justinian II defeats Kuber's Bulgars and Slavic tribes in Macedonia and resettles thousands of Slavs into Anatolia.

830s–840s Northern and central Macedonia become part of Bulgaria under Khan Presian.

840s–850s An independent Serb principality is established in present-day Sandžak.

850s St. Cyril and St. Methodius create the Slavic script in Byzantium.

864 The Bulgarian ruler Boris adopts Christianity.

885 The Slavic script and liturgy is introduced in the Bulgarian Princedom. Under the guidance of St. Clement, Ohrid becomes an educational and religious center.

893–927 Prince Simeon's reign marks the zenith of Bulgaria's power. Simeon is crowned as tsar of Bulgarians and Romans (i.e., Byzantines) in 917.

904 Arab pirates sack Salonica.

970s As Byzantine forces capture the Bulgarian capital of Preslav, Count (*komes*) Nicholas's family rises in the western realms of the country.

997–1014 Nicholas's son, Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria, reigns in Ohrid.

1014 29 July: Byzantine emperor Basil II Bulgarslayer defeats Samuel's army in the battle of Kleidion (Ključ). Samuel dies of a heart attack.

1018 After Samuel's nephew, Tsar John (Ivan) Vladislav, is killed during an unsuccessful siege of Dyrrachium (the Albanian city of Durrës), the last remnants of the state fall to the Byzantines. John Vladislav's son, Tsar Presian II, surrenders to the Constantinople emperor.

1019 The Ohrid Archbishopric is established by Basil II.

1040–1041 Peter Delian, claiming to be Samuel's grandson, leads a revolt against the Byzantines. After an abortive attack against Salonica

he is deposed by Alusian, one of John Vladislav's sons, who later defects to the Byzantines.

1072 Skopje noblemen led by George Vojteh revolt against Constantinople. Constantine Bodin, a prince from Zeta (present-day Montenegro), is crowned as Tsar Peter III of Bulgaria but is defeated by Byzantium.

1091 The Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus defeats the Pechenegs and settles some of them in present-day Republic of Macedonia.

1166–1196 Stephen I Nemanja's reign unifies the Serb princedoms. The Nemanjić dynasty is established.

1185 The Second Bulgarian Tsardom is established by the Asenid family. The Norman rulers of Sicily sack Salonica.

1204 The knights of the Fourth Crusade establish the Kingdom of Salonica ruled by Boniface of Montferrat.

1224 Salonica is taken by Theodore Comnenos Doukas, the Despot of Epirus.

1230 The Bulgarian tsar John II Asen defeats Theodore Comnenus and conquers Macedonia, with the exception of Salonica.

1246 The Nicean emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes defeats the Bulgarians and conquers Macedonia, including Salonica.

1257 Constantine Tih, a nobleman from Skopje related to both the Asenids and the Nemanjić family, becomes the Bulgarian tsar.

1282 The Serbian king Milutin conquers northern and central Macedonia.

1330 28 July: At Velbŭžd the Serb king Stephen Dečanski defeats Tsar Michael III Shishman of Bulgaria, consolidating the Nemanjić dynasty's control over Macedonia.

1346 Stephen Dušan the Mighty is crowned in Skopje as tsar of Serbs and Greeks.

1355 Dušan's successors parcel Macedonia into several fiefdoms.

1371 26 September: King Vukašin Mrnjavčević of Prilep and his brother Ugleša are crushed by the Ottoman sultan Murad I.

1387 The Ottomans seize Salonica but subsequently return it to the Byzantines.

1389 28 June: The Ottomans defeat the Serbs and their allies at the field of Kosovo on St. Vitus Day (*Vidovdan*).

The Ottoman Era (1390s to 1912)

1392 The Ottomans seize Skopje.

1395 17 May: Marko Mrnjavčević, the prototype of the folklore hero Kraljević/Krale Marko, is killed while fighting as an Ottoman ally at Rovine in Wallachia. The Prilep Kingdom is incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.

1430 Salonica comes under full Ottoman control.

1492 Sephardic Jews are expelled from Spain and settle in the Ottoman Empire. By the 1550s Jews account for half of Salonica's 60,000 inhabitants. In Skopje, the Mustafa Paša Mosque is completed.

1495 The Aladža Mosque is built in Tetovo.

1555 Skopje is hit by a catastrophic earthquake.

1557 The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć is restored. Its diocese comprises the northern parts of Macedonia, including Skopje, Veles, Tetovo, and Štip.

1689 October: Skopje is captured by the Austrian army. Karpoš, a former outlaw in the Rhodopes, leads an anti-Ottoman rebellion centered on Kumanovo, which is defeated by December.

1741 Hristofor Žefarović publishes in Vienna his book *Stematography*, containing a collection of coats of arms belonging to historical regions across the Balkans.

1766 The Peć Patriarchate is abolished by the Sublime Porte.

1767 The Orhid Archbishopric is abolished.

1788 Ali Paša's forces ravage Moscopole, triggering mass migration of Vlachs into Macedonia.

1822 March: An anti-Ottoman uprising breaks out around the town of Naoussa in southern Macedonia, inspired by the Greek War of Independence.

1830 3 February: The Protocol of London recognizes Greece's independence. **6 February:** Sultan Mahmud II grants Serbia autonomy by an imperial edict (*Hatt-ı Şerif*).

1839 3 November: The Tanzimat period of reforms begins in the Ottoman Empire.

1860 25 March: Grigor Pŕliĉev (Grigorios Stavridis Makedon) wins laurels in the Greek Poetic Competition in Athens for his poem *O Amartolos* (The Guardsman).

1861 In Zagreb, the Miladinov brothers publish *Bulgarian Folk Songs* with the help of Monsignor Josip Juraj Strossmayer, a prominent Slavophile. The collection contains folklore material from various parts of Macedonia.

1864 An Ottoman law subdivides the empire's territory into administrative units (*vilâyet*s). Salonica, Bitola, and Skopje become *vilâyet* centers.

1870 11 March: An autonomous Bulgarian church (exarchate) is proclaimed by the sultan.

1874 December: The railway line Salonica-Skopje-Mitrovica (Kosovo) is opened.

1876 May: An armed revolt erupts in the villages around Razlovci in eastern Macedonia.

1878 3 March: The preliminary Treaty of San Stefano ends the Russo-Turkish War, creating Greater Bulgaria, which includes most of geographic Macedonia. **June:** Albanian notables and chieftains create the League of Prizren. **13 June–13 July:** The great powers convene in Berlin to discuss the territorial status quo in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. The congress is presided by Otto von Bismarck, Germany's chancellor. The resulting treaty reassigns Macedonia to the Ottoman Empire. **October:** The Kresna Uprising breaks out in the valley of the Struma River. It lasts until the spring of 1879.

1888 May: The Skopje-Vranje railway junction is inaugurated. Salonica is directly linked with Vienna through the Serbian network.

1893 3 November: The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) is established in Salonica.

1895 March: The Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC) is established in Sofia. **July:** A SMAC band led by Boris Sarafov captures the town of Melnik/Melenikon in present-day Pirin Macedonia.

1896 April: The Ottoman authorities discover the existence of the IMRO as a network operating across Macedonia and Thrace. **Summer:** Mandated by an IMRO congress, Goce Delčev and Gjorče Petrov draft a new statute that defines the organization as fighting on behalf of all “dissatisfied elements” in Macedonia and the Adrianople region regardless of their ethnic and religious identity. The territory of the respective Ottoman provinces is divided into revolutionary districts.

1897 April–May: Greece is defeated by the Ottoman army in Thessaly after it attempts to expand its boundaries in the north and annex Crete.

1901 3 September: IMRO guerrillas led by Jane Sandanski and Hristo Černošev kidnap the American missionary Ellen “Miss” Stone and her companion Katarina Stefanova Cilka (Tsilka) close to Bansko. They are freed in February after the U.S. government pays a ransom.

1902 April: Firmilian, a Serbian bishop, is appointed to the Patriarchist see of Skopje. **September:** The SMAC makes an abortive attempt to stage a revolt in the Struma valley. **November:** Ion Dragoumis is appointed deputy consul of Greece in Bitola. He becomes one of the main leaders of the Greek efforts to roll back the influence of the IMRO and the Bulgarian Exarchate.

1903 February: Austria-Hungary and Russia propose reforms for the Macedonian provinces. The Bulgarian government abolishes the SMAC. **28–29 April:** A group of left-wing youths, loosely linked with the IMRO, launches a series of dynamite attacks across Salonica, targeting Ottoman public buildings and western European businesses. **4 May:** Goce Delčev, one of the IMRO’s top leaders, is killed in a fight

with Ottoman troops. **2 August:** An uprising breaks out in the Bitola *vilâyet* on Prophet Elijah's Day (*Ilinden*). **19 August:** The uprising spreads to the *vilâyet* of Adrianople, in the direct vicinity of the Ottoman capital. **September:** The uprising is suppressed by the Ottomans with thousands of civilians killed and wounded, large-scale destruction of property, and 30,000 refugees. **October:** The Austro-Hungarian and Russian emperors Franz-Joseph and Nicholas II negotiate the Mürzsteg Reform Plan, aimed at stabilizing the Macedonian provinces. **December:** Krŭstjo (Krste) Misirkov publishes in Sofia his pamphlet *On the Macedonian Matters*, celebrated after 1944 as a pioneering manifesto of Macedonian Slavs' political, linguistic, and cultural separatism.

1904 January: Following the reform plan, the Ottoman police force in Macedonia is put under the supervision of military officers from the great powers. **Winter–Spring:** Serb units begin to infiltrate the regions of Prilep, Veles, and Kičevo from the north. **May:** In Athens, Dimitrios Kalapothakis establishes the Macedonian Committee, which sends armed bands to southern Macedonia. **13 October:** Pavlos Mellas, a Greek guerrilla leader, is killed during a skirmish in a village close to Castoria.

1905 May: The Sublime Porte recognizes a Vlach *millet*. **July:** In Istanbul, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation attempts to assassinate Sultan Abdülhamid II using explosives procured from Bulgaria with help from the IMRO. **October:** The IMRO holds a congress at the Rila Monastery in southwestern Bulgaria. There is a deepening rift between the Serres Revolutionary District activists around Jane Sandanski and the rest of the organization (the so-called centralists).

1906 23 December: Dame Gruev, the most senior figure within the IMRO, is killed in a skirmish with the Ottoman forces. Gruev's death cancels the IMRO's general congress. The internal schism is irreversible.

1907 11 December: In Sofia, Boris Sarafov, the military leader of the Ilinden Uprising, and the prominent IMRO activist Ivan Garvanov are killed on the orders of Jane Sandanski, the leader of the organization's left wing. The murder starts an internecine struggle within the IMRO that lasts until the 1930s.

1908 March: Jane Sandanski is sentenced by the IMRO, led by the centralist group around Todor Aleksandrov. **10 June:** At a meeting in Reval (Tallinn), King Edward VII and the Russian emperor announce plans for granting Macedonia autonomy under an Ottoman governor to be approved by the great powers. The plan is opposed by Germany and the opposition Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turks). **June–July:** The Young Turk Revolution breaks out in Macedonia. The IMRO is legalized and supports the new regime. **September:** The Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs party is established in Salonica by members of the IMRO's "centralist" faction. **October:** Bulgaria proclaims its independence from the Porte while Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina, an Ottoman province it has ruled since 1878. **22 November:** In Bitola, a committee of Albanian political and cultural activists adopts a unified alphabet standard.

1909 April: An attempted countercoup against the Young Turks by Sultan Abdülhamid loyalists is defeated in Istanbul by an expeditionary corps dispatched from Salonica. Bands led by Jane Sandanski and Todor Panica take part in the operation. **August:** In Salonica, the IMRO left wing holds the first congress of the People's Federative Party.

1910 April: The IMRO centralists revert to guerrilla tactics. **26 August:** Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu (Mother Teresa) is born in Skopje.

The Time of Wars (1912–1919)

1912 March–May: The Balkan Alliance is created by Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro through a series of bilateral agreements. **August:** A 15,000-strong Albanian insurgent force captures Skopje. **5 October:** The First Balkan War breaks out and Macedonia is occupied by the armies of Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. **November:** The Greek army captures Salonica on the day of St. Demetrius, the city's patron (9 November). Bulgarian troops arrive on the following day. Skopje and Bitola fall to the Serbian army.

1913 May: Serbia and Greece conclude an agreement for common action against Bulgaria. **June:** The Second Balkan War breaks out as the Bulgarians attack Serb and Greek positions in Macedonia. Though the fights in Macedonia end in stalemate, Romania's entry into the war

in July leads to Bulgaria's defeat. **10 August:** The Treaty of Bucharest ends the Second Balkan War. Macedonia is partitioned with Greece retaining more than half of the region's territory and the Vardar area going to Serbia. **September:** Together with Albanian bands, the IMRO attacks the Serb forces around Ohrid, Struga, Debar, and Kičevo. The Serbs fight back using heavy weaponry and killing hundreds of Macedonian Slavs, Albanians, and Turks. The town of Debar is burned to the ground.

1914 28 June: Archduke Franz Ferdinand is assassinated in Sarajevo. The murder precipitates a diplomatic crisis leading to the outbreak of World War I. **August:** The Austro-Hungarian army attacks Serbia.

1915 2 April: Some 700 IMRO and Turkish irregulars attack the Serb forces at Valandovo and Udovo, attempting to blow up the railway bridge. The raid, supported by Austria-Hungary, kills more than 500 Serbian soldiers, gendarmes, and railroad employees. **21 April:** Jane Sandanski is assassinated by the IMRO centralist faction. **14 October:** Bulgaria enters World War I and drives the Serb army and administration out of Macedonia. The Entente opens the Salonica front.

1916 November: The Entente forces capture Bitola from the Germans and the Bulgarians.

1917 February–March: IMRO forces commanded by General Aleksandŭr Protogerov take part in the heavy-handed suppression of a revolt against the Bulgarian and the Austro-Hungarian authorities in southern Serbia (the Toplica Uprising). **18–19 August:** Salonica is devastated by a great fire.

1918 September: After cutting through the German-Bulgarian defenses in the battle at Dobro Pole, near Bitola, the Entente forces establish control over Vardar Macedonia. **1 December:** The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) is established.

1919 1 March: On behalf of the IMRO's Foreign Representation, Todor Aleksandrov and General Aleksandur Protogerov write to the Peace Conference in Versailles demanding self-determination for united Macedonia as a way to ensure peace in the Balkans. A similar appeal is sent in February by the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in Sofia. **27 November:** The Treaty of Neuilly is signed. Bulgaria cedes the region

of Strumica to Yugoslavia and agrees to exchange populations with Greece.

The Interwar Period (1919–1941)

1919 20 December: The IMRO's bands are reconvened by Aleksandrov and Protogerov and begin incursions from their bases in Bulgaria into Yugoslav and Greek territory.

1920 Summer: Jane Sandanski's former commanders, once the left wing of the IMRO, build up their own bands supported by the Agrarian Union's government in Sofia. **24 September:** The parliament in Belgrade passes legislation that redistributes land in the Vardar region to colonists from other parts of Yugoslavia, predominantly Serbs.

1921 11 April: The Romanian, Greek, and Yugoslav governments issue a joint diplomatic note against the incursions of bands from the territory of Bulgaria. **28 June:** Gjorče Petrov, a prominent IMRO leftist and ally of the Agrarian Union, is shot in Sofia on the orders of Todor Aleksandrov. Yugoslavia adopts its constitution (the so-called *Vidovdanski ustav*) on the anniversary of the Kosovo Battle. **4 December:** The Macedonian Emigrant Federative Organization (MEFO) is established by Todor Aleksandrov's opponents within the IMRO. MEFO creates a common front with the Sandanists. **20 December:** In Tirana, Protogerov and Dr. Filip Atanasov (MEFO) negotiate an anti-Yugoslav alliance with Albanian nationalists. Todor Aleksandrov rejects any cooperation with Atanasov and MEFO.

1922 October: The Macedonian Political (later Patriotic) Organization is established in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Affiliated with the IMRO, it brings together the 50,000-strong diaspora in the United States and Canada. **22 October:** The IMRO assassinates Aleksandŭr Dimitrov, Bulgaria's war minister. **4 December:** IMRO detachments loyal to Todor Aleksandrov occupy the border city of Kjustendil, demonstrating the organization's force and routing the MEFO. A similar operation is carried out in Nevrokop two months beforehand.

1923 16–17 January: An IMRO band attacks the village of Kadrifakovo, killing 26 Serb colonists. In retaliation the Serb army and gendar-

merie murder 29 peasants in the village of Garvan near Radoviš. **4 February:** The IMRO makes a failed attempt to kill Bulgarian prime minister Aleksandŭr Stambolijski and a number of ministers by throwing a grenade in their lodge at the National Theater. **23 March:** In Niš, Bulgarian and Yugoslav representatives sign an agreement aiming at the restoration of order along the mutual frontier and clamp down on IMRO incursions. **10 May:** Greece grants Yugoslavia transit rights to Salonica as well as a customs-free zone in the city's port. **June:** A military coup backed by the IMRO overthrows the Agrarian Union government in Bulgaria. Stambolijski is brutally murdered by a group of soldiers and IMRO irregulars. **24 July:** Turkey signs the Lausanne Convention with Greece and the rest of the Entente Powers. The ensuing exchange of population results in the near-complete Hellenization of Greece's northern provinces. **September:** The IMRO forces prevent the Bulgarian Communist Party from spreading its antigovernment revolt into the Pirin region. **21 December:** The Macedonian Scientific Institute is established in Sofia by academics and public figures coming from Macedonia. **30 December:** Todor Aleksandrov prepares a draft platform for cooperation between the IMRO and the Soviet Union.

1924 6 May: In Vienna, General Aleksandur Protogerov and Petŭr Čaulev sign a manifesto calling for cooperation with the communist parties in fighting all Balkan regimes, including the one in Sofia. Todor Aleksandrov rejects the document claiming that the authorization letter used by his colleagues to sign it on his behalf has been forged. **31 August:** Aleksandrov is assassinated in the Pirin Mountain. **10 September:** Bulgaria and Greece sign a protocol by which Greece recognizes the Slavic speakers in its northern provinces as a Bulgarian minority. The agreement is subsequently repudiated due to pressure by the Yugoslav government and domestic opposition in Greece. **13 September:** In Gorna Džumaja the IMRO executes Aleksandrov's assassins along with other left-leaning figures from within the organization. **23 December:** Petŭr Čaulev is assassinated in Milan.

1925 February: An IMRO congress elects a new Central Committee comprising General Protogerov, Ivan Mihajlov, and Georgi Pophristov. The organization's new statute states that the goal is "to unite divided Macedonia in its geographic boundaries and obtain its autonomy." **May:** In Athens, the Greek government publishes the so-called *Ab-*

ecedar, a primer written in the Macedonian Slavic dialect from Florina using the Latin alphabet. **8 May:** Todor Panica, a prominent federalist and associate of Jane Sandanski, is killed in the Viennese Burgtheater. **October:** In Vienna, the leftist IMRO (United) is established and acts as a subsidiary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Comintern (Communist International). It opposes Mihajlov and Protogerov but, similar to them, campaigns for Macedonia's autonomy within a Balkan federation. **22–29 October:** Greek troops cross into the Petrič district in southwestern Bulgaria in retaliation for attacks carried out by the IMRO. IMRO irregulars halt the Greek advance toward Petrič. The hostilities are terminated thanks to an intervention by the League of Nations.

1926 11 July: Greece, Yugoslavia, and Romania call on Bulgaria to curb the bands' incursions. **30 July:** An international conference in London recognizes Yugoslavia's sovereignty over the monastery of St. Naum on Lake Ohrid.

1927 5 October: The IMRO assassinates General Mihailo Kovačević in Štip. **5 December:** In Skopje, a group of 20 university students belonging to the IMRO-affiliated Macedonian Youth Secret Organization are put on trial. **9 December:** Bulgaria and Greece sign an agreement on the property left behind in the course of the population exchange between the two.

1928 13 January: In Skopje, Mara Buneva shoots Velimir Prelić, a high-ranking Serb administrator, and commits suicide. **7 July:** General Aleksandŭr Protogerov is murdered in Sofia by supporters of Ivan Mihajlov.

1929 3 October: King Aleksandar stages a coup in Belgrade and suspends the 1921 Constitution. The country is officially renamed Yugoslavia while Skopje becomes the center of one of the newly created administrative units (*banovinas*).

1933 10 February: At the Great Macedonian Convention in Gorna Džumaja, the IMRO declares, for the first time, that its goal is the creation of independent Macedonia.

1934 February: The Comintern issues a resolution that the Macedonian Slavs constitute a separate ethnicity distinctive from both Serbs

and Bulgarians. The resolution shapes the policies of all Balkan communist parties and is embraced by the remnants of the leftist IMRO (United). **19 May:** The IMRO is suppressed in Bulgaria after a military coup overthrowing the government in Sofia. **9 October:** An IMRO assassin commissioned by the Croatian *Ustaše* shoots dead King Aleksandar in Marseilles.

1936 March: A group of left-leaning Macedonian students in Zagreb found the Macedonian People's Movement. **4 August:** In Greece, General Ioannis Metaxas establishes a right-wing authoritarian regime that embarks on an assimilation campaign targeting the Slavic speakers in the northern districts.

1937 In Skopje, a group of local intellectuals start publishing *Luč* (Beam), which contains articles written in the Slavic Macedonian dialect. **27 April:** The Macedonian-dialect play *He Trod on Man* (also known as *Hadži Teodos*) is performed in the Skopje theater. *Money Kills* by Risto Krle follows a year and a half later.

1938 In Sofia, Venko Markovski releases two books of poems written in the dialect of Veles, *People's Bitterness* and *The Fire*. After 1944, Markovski is celebrated as the father of modern Macedonian literature before falling out of grace because of siding with Joseph Stalin against Josip Broz Tito during the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) split. **July:** Turkey signs a convention with Yugoslavia, agreeing to accept Muslim immigrants. **October:** The Macedonian Literary Circle is established in Sofia by communist writers such as Nikola Vapcarov, Venko Markovski, Kole Nedelkovski, and others.

1939 Spring: The Society for Macedonian Studies, the leading Greek academic institution researching the history of the region, is established in Salonica. **April:** Italy annexes Albania. **25 November:** Koco Racine publishes his collection of poems *White Dawn* in Zagreb.

1940 October: At its fifth conference held in Zagreb, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia calls for preserving Yugoslavia's independence and affirms the right of self-determination through autonomy of all national groups inside the country, the Macedonian Slavs included. The Macedonian Question is to be solved within the framework of Yugoslavia, rather than in a broader Balkan federation.

World War II and the Emergence of Yugoslav Macedonia (1941–1944)

1941 April: Yugoslavia is invaded by Germany and Italy and swiftly defeated. Bulgarian Action Committees take over local control in most of Vardar Macedonia, prior to its division between the Axis ally Bulgaria and Italian-dominated Albania. Metodi Šatorov, secretary of the regional committee for Macedonia of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, attaches this minuscule organization to the Bulgarian Communist Party, an action condemned and suspended by the Yugoslav leadership under Tito. **11 October:** A group of Macedonian communists attack the Bulgarian police department in Prilep. **30 November:** Lazar Koliševski, the organizer of the Prilep attacks, is sentenced to death in Bitola. Two months later the sentence is commuted to life imprisonment.

1943 February: Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, an envoy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, arrives in Vardar Macedonia to build up the local partisan movement. **11 March:** Jews are rounded up in Skopje, Bitola, and Štip by the Bulgarian authorities. By April they are all handed over to the Germans and largely exterminated. **19 March:** A pro-Yugoslav Communist Party of Macedonia is founded in Tetovo, then part of the Italian occupation zone. **June:** A partisan manifesto calls for the creation of a Macedonian republic. **18 August:** The Mirce Acev battalion, the first substantial Macedonian partisan unit, is established in the Italian sector. **3 September:** Italy surrenders to the Allies. German troops occupy the western half of Vardar Macedonia. **October–November:** The Greek communist partisans establish the Slav-Macedonian People's Liberation Front. **29 November:** At its second session in Jajce (Bosnia), the Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia heralds the creation of a federative Yugoslavia with the three parts of Macedonia forming one of the constituent republics.

1944 March: The Germans establish the Skanderbeg Waffen SS division, composed mostly of Albanians. The unit is deployed in Macedonia and Kosovo. **2 August:** At the St. Prohor of Pčinja monastery the Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) proclaims the establishment of a Macedonian republic within Yugoslavia. **2 September:** A pro-Western Bulgarian government comes to power and orders the withdrawal of military, police, and ad-

ministrative personnel from Vardar Macedonia. **9 September:** As the Soviet troops enter Bulgaria, the communist-led Fatherland Front seizes power and enters the war against Germany on the side of Tito's Yugoslavia. **29 October:** The first issue of *Nova Makedonija*, a Macedonian-language daily, is published by the partisans in the village of Gorno Vranovci near Veles. **13 November:** German troops withdraw from Skopje. Yugoslav partisans enter the city followed by Bulgarian army units. **28 December:** Radio Skopje begins broadcasting in Macedonian.

Macedonia in the Yugoslav Federation (1945–1991)

1945 7 January: A revolt by Macedonian recruits due to be dispatched to the Srem front in northern Yugoslavia is crushed by the communist security forces. **April:** The procommunist National Liberation Front is formed in Greek Macedonia by local Slavs. In Skopje, the first issue of the Albanian-language newspaper *Flaka e vëllazërimit* (Flame of Brotherhood) comes out. **May:** Macedonian is standardized as a distinct southern Slavic language. The alphabet is published for the first time on the pages of *Nova Makedonija*. **29 November:** The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia is proclaimed with Josip Broz Tito as its prime minister.

1946 January: The new Yugoslav constitution recognizes Macedonia as one of the six constituent republics in the federation. The first Macedonian-language grammar written by Krume Kepeski is endorsed as a school textbook. **March:** The second phase of the Greek Civil War breaks out after the agreement reached in the Varkiza Pact (February 1945) falls apart. The communist forces are supported by Yugoslavia and draw in thousands of Slavic Macedonians. **9–10 August:** A plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee resolves to intensify the campaign for promoting Macedonian national identity in the Pirin province. **8 October:** In Sofia, the remains of Goce Delcev are officially handed to a delegation from the People's Republic of Macedonia and taken to Skopje. **23 November:** Metodija Andonov-Čento, the first president of ASNOM's presidium, is sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment on fabricated charges.

1947 13 February: The Macedonian Writers' Association is established in Skopje. **August:** In Bled, Georgi Dimitrov and Tito sign an agreement envisaging a customs union and visa-free regime between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, paving the way to a Balkan federation. The agreement also foresees the unification of Vardar and Pirin Macedonia.

1948 1 January: The State Opera opens in Skopje. **15 March:** Direct passenger flights begin to operate between Skopje and Belgrade. **June:** The Cominform crisis leads to Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet camp. Yugoslav Macedonian teachers and "cultural workers" are expelled from Bulgaria. **22 July:** The republican government in Skopje establishes the Institute for National History.

1949 24 March: The state folklore ensemble *Tanec* (Dance) is established in Skopje. **24 April:** Skopje University starts functioning. **July:** After the Greek Communist Party sides with Stalin, the Yugoslav authorities close the border and disband the guerrilla camps operating on its territory. **August–September:** The government forces defeat the last remnants of the Democratic Army of Greece.

1951 1 April: The Archive of Macedonia is established.

1952 Slavko Janevski publishes *Village beyond the Seven Ashes*, the first novel written in standardized Macedonian. **January:** *Frosina*, the first Macedonian-language film, is shown in Skopje.

1953 February: Yugoslavia signs a trilateral pact with Greece and Turkey. Muslim emigration from Kosovo and Macedonia rises. By the mid-1960s, more than 200,000 Turks and Albanians leave Yugoslavia. **March:** The Yugoslav communist leadership abandons the policy of mass collectivization and gives land back to individual farmers.

1954 25 May: The first Macedonian opera *Goce*—music by Kiril Makedonski, libretto Venko Markovski—is performed in Skopje.

1957 27 May: The power station at Vrutok, near Gostivar, starts operation.

1958 4 October: The autonomous archdiocese of Ohrid is established despite the initial protests of the Serb Orthodox Church, which ratifies the decision in the following year.

1959 August: The United Macedonians organization is established in Toronto. By the 1990s, the city and its surroundings are home to more than 100,000 immigrants from Aegean and Vardar Macedonia.

1961 13 May: TV Skopje makes its first broadcast, through the program of TV Belgrade.

1962 November: Skopje is flooded by the Vardar River.

1963 11–12 March: The Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee formally reverses the previous policy of fostering Macedonian national identity in the Pirin region. **April:** A new federal constitution is adopted and changes Yugoslavia's name to Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The People's Republic of Macedonia becomes the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM). **July:** Krste Crvenkovski replaces the hard-liner Lazar Koliševski as the leader of communists in the SRM. **26 July:** A powerful earthquake devastates Skopje.

1966 1 July: Aleksandar Ranković, Tito's hard-line deputy and head of the State Security Directorate, is purged, with Krste Crvenkovski chairing the inquiry commission hearing the case. This ushers in a period of liberalization and political decentralization in Yugoslavia.

1967 22 February: The Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts is founded in Skopje. **19 May:** In Sofia, Todor Živkov meets Krste Crvenkovski. The dispute about the Macedonian Slavs' ethnicity and history becomes increasingly heated. **19 July:** The independence (autocephaly) of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is proclaimed.

1968 November: Mass demonstrations in Tetovo call for the creation of a seventh federal republic representing the Yugoslav Albanians.

1969 The Institute for National History in Skopje publishes the three-volume *History of the Macedonian People* edited by Mihajlo Apostolski. **March:** Angel Čemerski succeeds Krste Crvenkovski as head of Macedonia's League of Communists (LCM). **October:** The Albanian-language University of Prishtina opens.

1971 December: Tito suppresses the so-called Croat Spring movement calling for greater economic and cultural autonomy within the federation. This erodes the position of Krste Crvenkovski, who is an ally of the Croatian nationalist-minded communists.

1972 23 April: Construction of the St. Clement of Ohrid Cathedral in Skopje begins. The church is completed in 1990.

1974 May: As Krste Crvenkovski's mandate in the Yugoslav presidency lapses, he withdraws from politics. The "dogmatic" wing in the LCM gains an upper hand.

1976 January: In Skopje, Vlatko Stefanovski and Bodan Arsovski create *Leb i sol* (Bread and Salt), a jazz-rock band popular across Yugoslavia.

1977 November: The Greek archaeologist Manolis Andronikos announces that he has discovered the tomb of King Philip II of Macedon near the village of Vergina. The Star/Sun of Vergina symbol, thought to be an emblem of the Macedon dynasty, comes into the spotlight.

1979 25 April: A second university is established in Bitola.

1980 4 May: Tito dies in Ljubljana.

1981 Albanian protests in Kosovo demand republican status again. The SRM police clamp down on local Albanians.

1987 4 May: FC Vardar Skopje, established in 1947, becomes Yugoslavia's football champion after defeating FC Red Star Belgrade. A group of nationalist Vardar supporters brandish a banner with the inscription *Komiti* (comitadjis), a reference to the interwar IMRO. **23–24 September:** Slobodan Milošević seizes power in Serbia.

1988 August: The Greek Ministry of Northern Greece is renamed Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace.

1989 The SRM amends its constitution. Turks and Albanians no longer figure as constituent nations. **28 March:** Serbia's assembly abolishes Kosovo's status as an autonomous entity within the republic.

1990 7 June: Macedonia drops *Socialist* from its official name. **November–December:** Multiparty elections are held for the first time for the *Sobranie*, the republican parliamentary assembly. The newly established Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU) wins the biggest share of the vote with the League of Communists of Macedonia coming second.

1991 25 January: The *Sobranie* votes a resolution asserting Macedonia's right to secede from the Yugoslav federation. **27 January:** Kiro Gligorov is elected president. **March:** Nikola Kljusev forms a government composed of technocrats. **June:** The secession of Slovenia and Croatia sparks off the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. **8 September:** Ninety-five percent vote for independence at a referendum boycotted by the Albanian community.

The Republic of Macedonia Since Independence (1991–)

1991 17 November: A constitution is adopted defining Macedonia as the national homeland of Macedonians.

1992 11–12 January: An unofficial referendum in the Albanian-populated areas endorses territorial autonomy. **11 January:** The Badinter Commission set up by the European Community rules that Macedonia meets the conditions for international recognition. **16 January:** Bulgaria becomes the first state to recognize Macedonia's independence. It is soon followed by Turkey and Russia. Bulgarian president Željko Želez declares that the recognition of the state does not entail the recognition of the nation. **14 February:** Several hundreds of thousands rally in Salonica, protesting against "the Republic of Skopje" using the Greek name of Macedonia as well as the symbols and history of Ancient Macedon. **March:** The Yugoslav army completes its peaceful withdrawal from Macedonia. **5 April:** Bosnia descends into a war. **27 April:** The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's constitution is adopted. As it refers only to Serbia and Montenegro, the act recognizes indirectly Macedonia's independence. **July:** The Kljusev cabinet resigns amid protests in Skopje due to its failure to obtain recognition. The parliament adopts a law proclaiming the Star of Vergina on a red background as the national flag. This exacerbates further the strained relations with Greece. **September:** A new government led by Branko Crvenkovski, leader of the postcommunist Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDAM), comes into power. **October:** The newly independent republic adopts a citizenship law that stipulates a 15-year residency requirement for naturalization. This clause is seen as disenfranchising local Albanians, many of whom came originally from Kosovo. **December:** The

United Nations (UN) Security Council decides to deploy a peacekeeping mission and civilian observers in Macedonia to prevent the spillover of the Yugoslav conflict.

1993 April: Macedonia is admitted into the UN under the temporary name *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* (FYROM). **May:** Macedonia adopts a national currency, the *denar*. **16 December:** Great Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands establish diplomatic relations with Skopje. Kiro Gligorov refers to the boundary with Greece as “permanent.”

1994 16 February: Greece imposes an economic blockade on Macedonia, objecting to the republic’s name, its state symbols, and clauses in the constitution implying territorial claims. **June–July:** A population census, largely boycotted by the Albanian community, is conducted. **September:** *Before the Rain* (directed by Milčo Mančevski) wins the Golden Lion award at the Venice Film Festival. It is among the Best Foreign Film nominations for the Oscar awards in 1995. **October–November:** Kiro Gligorov is reelected as president. The Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia wins the parliamentary elections boycotted by the IMRO-DPMNU. The SDAM leader Branko Crvenkovski remains prime minister.

1995 17 February: Violent protests erupt in Tetovo after the newly opened Albanian-language university is declared illegal. The authorities arrest the rector, Fadil Sulejmani, and sentence him to two and a half years’ imprisonment. **13 September:** An interim accord with Greece restores diplomatic relations. Macedonia gives up the Star of Vergina as a national symbol and amends the constitution, but the name dispute remains unsolved. The agreement clears the hurdles to Macedonia’s membership in international organizations. **3 October:** Kiro Gligorov survives a car-bomb attack but is seriously injured. The perpetrators remain unknown. **12 October:** Macedonia joins the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe. **22 December:** Macedonia establishes diplomatic relations with the European Union (EU) and starts negotiations over various bilateral agreements.

1996 23 February: Branko Crvenkovski reshuffles his cabinet, leaving the Liberal Party outside the governing coalition. **10 March:** Mace-

donia is admitted into the EU's PHARE financial-assistance program. **8 April:** Rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) establishes diplomatic relations with Macedonia. **20 June:** Macedonia and the EU sign a cooperation agreement as well as an agreement on transport. **July:** A new wave of protests in Tetovo and Skopje led by Albanian members of parliament demand Fadil Sulejmani's release. **November:** The SDAM wins the greatest share of votes at the municipal elections. Albanians vote overwhelmingly for radical candidates, challenging the Party for Democratic Prosperity's (PDP) participation in the governing coalition.

1997 22 May: The Constitutional Court prohibits the use of the Albanian flag. The *Sobranie* moves to adopt restrictive legislation. **29 May:** Branko Crvenkovski reshuffles his cabinet. **8 July:** Protests in Tetovo and Gostivar demanding the free use of Albanian national symbols end in violent clashes with security forces. Three local Albanians are killed and 500 arrested, including Rifi Osmani, the mayor of Gostivar. **October:** Violence escalates in Kosovo as the newly formed Kosovo Liberation Army launches attacks against the Serb police.

1998 5–6 March: Albanians rally *en masse* in Skopje to support their coethnics in Kosovo and demand international intervention. They raise Albanian flags and play the Albanian anthem, challenging the law on national symbols. **April:** The radical Democratic Party of Albanians resolves to withdraw its representatives from government institutions in protest of Rifi Osmani's imprisonment. **29 November:** After winning the largest portion of the votes at the parliamentary elections in October, IMRO-DPMNU forms a government with the Democratic Party of Albanians and the Democratic Alternative (DA). Ljubčo Georgievski becomes prime minister. **7 December:** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) deploys a 2,300-strong contingent in Macedonia to prevent a spillover of violence from Kosovo.

1999 4 February: The Macedonian parliament overrules a presidential veto and amnesties 8,000 prisoners, including Rifi Osmani. **22 February:** At a visit in Sofia, Georgievski signs a joint declaration with the Bulgarian premier Ivan Kostov to resolve the "language dispute" between the two countries. **1 March:** The mandate of the UN mission in Macedonia lapses. It is not renewed due to a Chinese veto in the

Security Council motivated by Macedonia's recognition of Taiwan. **24 March:** NATO starts its bombing campaign against Serbia. The attacks mark the peak of the conflict in Kosovo. It ends in June with a cease-fire agreement signed in Kumanovo. Hundreds of thousands of Albanian refugees pour into Macedonia in the course of the conflict. **24 April:** Macedonia obtains a membership action plan at the NATO summit in Washington. **15 December:** Boris Trajkovski (IMRO-DPMNU) is inaugurated as president after defeating Tito Petkovski (SDAM) at the elections with the support of the Albanian community. The SDAM disputes the fairness of the vote, pointing to widespread irregularities in Albanian-majority regions.

2000 29 February: The Bulgarian Constitutional Court withdraws the registration of the United Macedonian Organization Ilinden Pirin, which claimed to represent the Macedonian minority in the country. The court rules that the organization promotes territorial separatism. The judgment is later attacked by two decisions of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. **July:** New legislation endorses the use of Albanian in university education. **September:** The governing coalition wins the greatest number of municipalities in the local elections. **5 October:** Slobodan Milošević falls from power. **30 November:** The DA leaves the IMRO-DPMNU government. Stojan Andov (Liberal Party) replaces Savo Klimovski as parliament speaker. **29 December:** Boris Trajkovski visits Belgrade for talks with the Yugoslav president Vojislav Koštunica. The two countries sign an agreement demarcating their common border.

2001 26 February: Macedonian security forces and the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA) clash at Tanuševci. The fighting spreads across Albanian-populated regions. **21 March:** The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1345 condemning violence. **9 April:** Macedonia signs a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU. **13 May:** A national-unity government is formed to bring together the major Macedonian and Albanian parties. **29 June:** NATO decides to send a contingent to Macedonia once a peace agreement is signed. **10–12 August:** Six civilians are killed during an operation by the Macedonian security forces in the Albanian village of Ljuboten near Tetovo. The incident is investigated by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). **13 August:** The main Macedonian and

Albanian parties sign the Ohrid Framework Agreement brokered by the EU and the United States. NATO launches Essential Harvest, a disarmament operation. **26 September:** NATO inaugurates Amber Fox, a peacekeeping mission that succeeds Essential Harvest. **16 November:** Sixteen constitutional amendments enhance the status of the Albanians and other ethnic communities at the national and the local level. Macedonia becomes a *de facto* binational state. **21 November:** The SDAM and the Liberal Democratic Party leave the Georgievski government.

2002 15 September: Together for Macedonia, a SDAM-led coalition of 12 parties, wins the parliamentary elections. **1 November:** Branko Crvenkovski forms a coalition government with the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), established by former NLA commanders. **October:** The data from a national census are released. The Albanians' numbers amount to 509,083 (25.1 percent of total). **14 December:** NATO replaces Amber Fox with Operation Allied Harmony, involving a smaller, 450-strong contingent.

2003 31 March: Concordia, an EU-led mission, succeeds NATO's Amber Fox as an external guarantor of the Ohrid Peace Process. **4 April:** Macedonia accedes to the World Trade Organization. **24 April:** Ljubčo Georgievski resigns from the IMRO-DPMNU chairmanship position. His heir is Nikola Gruevski, a finance minister in the 1998–2002 administration. **2 May:** In Washington, D.C., Macedonia signs the Adriatic Charter, a cooperation platform facilitating NATO accession, together with Albania and Croatia. **December:** Macedonia sends troops to Iraq. **15 December:** The EU replaces Concordia with Proxima, a police operation.

2004 22 February: The Albanian-language university near Tetovo is officially recognized. **26 February:** President Trajkovski dies after his airplane crashes near Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina. **22 March:** Macedonia submits its application for membership in the EU. **12 May:** Branko Crvenkovski is inaugurated as president after winning against the IMRO-DPMNU candidate, Saško Kedev, in April. Hari Kostov becomes prime minister in June. The results spur allegations of vote rigging. **2 June:** A new SDAM-led government comes into office headed by Hari Kostov. **July:** New legislation redrawing the municipal borders in Skopje and Struga and making Albanian an official language at the

local level sparks mass protests. **4 July:** Ljubčo Georgievski establishes a new political force, IMRO-People's Party, breaking away together with his supporters from IMRO-DPMNU. **4 November:** The United States recognizes the name *Republic of Macedonia*. **7 November:** A referendum on the decentralization law affecting Skopje and Struga fails due to low turnout. The poll was initiated by the World Macedonian Congress, a diaspora organization, and supported by IMRO-DPMNU and some smaller parties. **15 November:** Kostov resigns as premier and is replaced by Vlado Bučkovski, formerly a defense minister. Bučkovski also becomes SDAM leader.

2005 March: The former interior minister Ljube Boškovski (IMRO-DPMNU), indicted by the ICTY for the Ljuboten killings alongside Jovan "Johan" Tarculovski, is extradited by Croatia to The Hague after being arrested for six months in the town of Pula. **March–April:** At the local elections, IMRO-DPMNU registers gains against the ruling SDAM. **June:** Metropolitan Jovan, the head of the breakaway Ohrid Archbishopric affiliated with the Serb Orthodox Church, is sentenced to 18 months in prison on charges of fomenting ethnic and religious hatred. **15 July:** The *Sobranie* passes a law allowing the Albanian community to hoist its national flag on public buildings in 16 municipalities where it is in a majority. **30 November:** Tito Petkovski splits from the SDAM and establishes the New Social Democratic Party. **19 December:** The EU grants Macedonia candidate status.

2006 July: The IMRO-DPMNU wins the general elections. Its leader Nikola Gruevski forms a government in coalition with the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA). **14 July:** Ljubčo Georgievski reveals that he is in possession of Bulgarian citizenship. **28–29 November:** At its summit in Riga, NATO signals that Macedonia could accede in 2008. **December:** The government unveils plans to rename the airport in Skopje *Alexander the Great*.

2007 January: The DUI boycotts the sessions of the Macedonian parliament and threatens to leave municipal councils. In a speech delivered in Skopje, the EU enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn issues a stark warning that Macedonia's accession prospects are at stake. The government introduces a flat tax of 12 percent. An investment-promotion campaign is launched in leading Western media. **11 April:**

The government announces that it would repay Macedonian debt to the World Bank and the European Investment Bank ahead of schedule in order to improve the country's international credit ranking. **12 April:** Boškovski's trial opens in The Hague. **June:** The PDP joins the governing coalition, a move that angers its partner the DUI. **July:** Macedonia is devastated by forest fires resulting from a heat wave. **20 September:** Canada recognizes *Republic of Macedonia* as an official name. **25 September:** Albanian deputies from the DUI and the PDP engage in a brawl within the parliament. **16 October:** The Macedonian pop singer Toše Proeski, age 26, dies in a car accident in Croatia. The news causes a shock in Macedonia and across former Yugoslavia. The state declares a day of mourning. **October–November:** An operation by Macedonian security forces targets Albanian extremists in several villages around Tetovo. **5 November:** Branko Crvenkovski and Nikola Gruevski both reject the so-called dual formula proposed by the UN envoy Matthew Nimetz for solving the naming issue with Greece, as Athens warns that it could block Macedonia's NATO accession.

2008 17 February: Kosovo's parliament proclaims independence from Serbia. Albanians rally in Skopje to show their support. **6 March:** Greek foreign minister Dora Bakoyanni threatens to veto Macedonia's accession to NATO after a round of failed negotiations on the name issue. **3 April:** At the NATO summit in Bucharest, Greece blocks Macedonia's entry into the alliance. Gruevski and foreign minister Antonio Milošoski walk out of the conference room. **12 April:** The IMRO-DPMNU legislators support a DUI motion to dissolve parliament and hold early elections. **1 June:** The IMRO-DPMNU wins the general elections and secures 63 seats in the 120-member *Sobranie*. Armed clashes between the DPA and the DUI supporters leave one dead and several wounded, and prompt senior EU officials to demand a partial rerun of the vote. **15–29 June:** Two additional rounds of elections in mostly Albanian-populated areas result in a DUI victory. **11 July:** Ljube Boškovski is acquitted in The Hague. He receives a hero's welcome in Skopje. **12 July:** Gruevski announces his new government, a coalition with one-time rivals DUI.

Introduction

Lying at the heart of the Balkans, the Republic of Macedonia is a microcosm reflecting the region's tangled past. All great empires straddling Europe, Asia, and Africa—Ancient Macedon, Rome, Byzantium, and the Ottoman state—have left their mark on both the country's physical and social landscape. Situated at a crossroads, Macedonia, referring to both the republic and the wider region known by that name, had a particularly turbulent historical experience in the modern era. Its claim to international fame has been, no doubt, the Macedonian Question. In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, it became the focal point of the fledgling Balkan nation-states competing over the declining Ottoman Empire's European possessions. Late Ottoman Macedonia was a region that impressed the external observer with its diversity: ethnic, religious, linguistic, clannish, and territorial identities overlapped in a complex and puzzling mosaic. While this was neither exceptional elsewhere in the Balkans nor indeed in many other parts of Europe, Macedonia acquired a special place in the political imagination. Hence the *macédoine*, a salad made of any conceivable fruit or vegetable served in the fine restaurants across western Europe, where diplomats had to struggle with an assortment of crises originating in that distant corner of "Turkey in Europe."

The scramble for Macedonia concerned the national sympathies of local Slavic peasants representing over half of the region's population, totaling more than two million souls in the 1900s. Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs put forward various ethnographic, cultural, and linguistic arguments to bring this population, itself characterized by a degree of heterogeneity, into their fold. The end of World War II heralded the coming of age for a new South Slavic nation in the valley of Vardar. The young Macedonian republic built up its own identity with the crucial help of

the communist Yugoslavic state and in line with the latter's ideology of "brotherhood and unity."

The Macedonian Question, however, was not put to rest. Global audiences were reminded of it with the televised images of hundreds of thousands of Greeks marching in Salonica on 14 February 1992 to assert their right over the heritage of Alexander of Macedon and the Hellenic identity of the province of Macedonia in northern Greece. The perceived enemy was a minuscule country that had just emerged from the ashes of the Yugoslav federation. Many also believed Macedonia would regain its place as the Balkan apple of discord, with its neighbors rushing to claim chunks of its territory. The country's large Albanian community in relation to the simmering cauldron in Kosovo was yet another source of uncertainty. In the spring and summer of 2001 Macedonia was on the brink, with security forces battling the Albanian guerrillas in the mountains above Tetovo and Kumanovo. Yet history need not repeat itself. External intervention by the European Union (EU) and the United States halted violence, in contrast to the futile efforts of the great powers in the 1900s. Macedonia, bedeviled though it may be by its painful transition from communism and the difficulty of navigating the stormy waters of ethnopolitics, is now moving slowly toward the European mainstream along with the wider Balkan region.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Macedonia is a landlocked country bordering Serbia and Kosovo to the north, Bulgaria to the east, Greece to the south, and Albania to the west. Its territory (25,713 square kilometers) accounts for slightly over one-third of the historico-geographic region of Macedonia together with the northwest of Greece (known as Aegean Macedonia) and Bulgaria's southwestern districts (the region of Pirin), as well as several very small areas in Kosovo, eastern Albania, and southern Serbia, covering an area of some 67,000 square kilometers. Nearly four-fifths of the country's territory is covered by mountains, with Mount Korab, located at the border with Albania, marking the highest point (2,764 meters). The Vardar River cuts across the region from northwest to southeast. Hence it is often called Vardar Macedonia, to be distinguished from both Aegean

Macedonia located in Greece and the region around the Pirin Mountain in Bulgaria.

According to the latest census conducted in 2002, Macedonia's population is some 2,022,547, which makes it one of the relatively smaller countries emerging after the collapse of Yugoslavia (by comparison, Bosnia-Herzegovina has around four million inhabitants over a territory of 51,280 square kilometers). Ethnic Macedonians, a Slavic people closely related to neighboring Bulgarians and Serbs, represent 64.2 percent while Albanians are around 25.2 percent. Most Slavic Macedonians are Eastern Orthodox, while Albanians are predominantly Sunni Muslims. There are also tiny Albanian Catholic (mostly in Skopje) and Orthodox groups. Other ethnic communities include Turks (3.9 percent), Roma (2.7 percent), Serbs (1.8 percent), Macedonian-speaking Muslims (Torbeši), and Vlachs. With the exception of the Orthodox Vlachs and Serbs, most other groups profess Islam in its Sunni form. Statistics show that Macedonian Albanians and Turks had, in the latter part of the 20th century, considerably higher birthrates than Slavic Macedonians. Though there are indications that these communities' birthrates are now declining, it should come as no surprise that the issue of demographic balances has been at the center of interethnic relations, both prior to Macedonia's independence (1991) and after it.

The principal urban settlements are Skopje (506,926), Bitola (80,000), Kumanovo (71,000), Prilep (68,000), Tetovo (60,000), and Ohrid (51,000). However, Kumanovo and Tetovo come respectively second and third in size after Skopje if one considers the population of the greater municipalities including the surrounding suburbs and villages. Tetovo, or Tetova in Albanian, is the main cultural and political center of the Macedonian Albanians who dominate the country's north-western corner (the Polog and Debar areas) and are present in large numbers in Skopje and Kumanovo. The urban population accounts for more than 60 percent, up from 30.8 percent in 1948. As a result of demographic changes, with the rapid urbanization and industrialization after World War II, many rural areas have been heavily depopulated. The 2002 census shows that 121 villages are now completely abandoned.

Historically the present-day Republic of Macedonia has been a country exporting migrants, both to the neighboring Balkan regions and further afield to North America, Australia, and western Europe. It is

estimated that in the 1960s and 1970s the migration rate from southwestern Macedonia was as high as 30 percent. Similar to the majority Slavs, the other ethnic communities have migrated in great numbers, driven by the demographic pressures and the limited access to jobs in the formal sector. Despite economic development under socialist Yugoslavia, chronic unemployment, affecting more than one-fifth of the labor force by the 1980s, was a key push factor. Joblessness has remained a grave problem ever since. Official figures released by the Skopje government in March 2007 indicated that there were 372,078 unemployed, 37 percent of the overall workforce.

HISTORY

The present-day Republic of Macedonia corresponds to the part of the overall region that was annexed by Serbia as a result of the two Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, together with the district of Strumica in the south-east ceded by Bulgaria after its defeat in World War I. It also includes the historic Monastery of St. Naum (near the town of Ohrid), which from 1913 to 1926 was part of Albania. This area is also known as Vardar Macedonia after the main river crossing it from north to south. At the same time, Yugoslav Serbia preserved control over some swathes of land in the north, notably another politically important religious site, the Monastery of St. Prohor of Pčinja where on 2 August 1944 Macedonian communists, part of the Tito-led resistance movement, proclaimed the creation of a separate unit in the new Yugoslav federation.

The People's Republic of Macedonia (renamed in 1963 the Socialist Republic of Macedonia) was established as a national homeland of the Macedonians and had its capital in Skopje, the administrative center of the prewar Vardar prefecture (*banovina*). While in earlier periods the name “Macedonians” denoted the whole mosaic—or indeed *macédoine*—of ethnic groups in the wider region, in Yugoslav Macedonia it was limited to the Slavic population. While they had previously opted for a Bulgarian, Serbian, or even Greek national identity, Macedonians had allegedly found their true self. What is more, Vardar Macedonia was seen as a sort of a future Piedmont capable of bringing into its fold, and into Tito's Yugoslavia, Aegean (Greek) and Pirin (Bulgarian) Macedonia too. Since September 1944, Bulgaria was under the power

of the communist-dominated Fatherland Front, which looked favorably at the idea of Macedonian nationhood and even the unification of Pirin and Vardar in the context of an expanded federation of the southern Slavs. Greece, for its part, was engulfed in its civil war pitting the communist-dominated Democratic Army against the conservative government in Athens. The Communist Party of Greece, dependent on support from Slavs in the northern provinces as well as from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, was also opening up to Macedonian reunification, despite the fact that the majority of the population in Aegean Macedonia since the 1920s influx of refugees from Turkey was clearly Greek. However, the Cominform crisis between the Yugoslav strongman Josip Broz Tito and Joseph Stalin in 1948 and the victory of the right wing in the Greek Civil War the following year put an end to the question of the territorial limits of the Macedonian republic. The Macedonian Question was laid to rest for a few decades to fully reappear again in the 1990s, albeit in a new form.

Macedonia during Antiquity

When the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia declared its independence in September 1991, it found itself on a collision course with its southern neighbor, Greece. Greece disputed the right of the new state to use the very name *Macedonia*, dating back to the ancient kingdom of Alexander the Great and his father Philip. A particular point of controversy was the adoption by Skopje of the famous Star of Vergina, the coat of arms of the house of Macedon. Not only did the Slavs have claims on Greek territory, but they had also appropriated a precious piece of the Hellenic past. In the middle of the 4th century BC, Ancient Macedonia, which comprised present-day Greek Macedonia plus the southernmost counties of the Vardar region, succeeded in conquering most city-states in Greece. At the same time, most of the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia was outside this realm and was known as Peonia and Dardania. Under Alexander the Great (336–323 BC), Macedon expanded into a vast, yet short-lived, empire reaching from the southern Balkans to the Indus Valley. It spread Greek language and culture into Egypt, the Middle East, and Central Asia and laid the foundations of the Hellenistic world. It was at that point that the city of

Salonica was established in the Thermaic Gulf, developing into the area's major urban center.

The memory of Alexander lived on across Europe and Asia centuries after the demise of his empire. Notably, descriptions of his life and achievements were popular in medieval Byzantium and its Slavic neighbors. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the Alexandrian myth was readily claimed and instrumentalized by more than one Balkan national movement from the early 19th century onward: not only Greek but also Bulgarian, Vlach, Albanian, and, of course, Macedonian. All of them have sought to establish their historical link with Alexander as a way to reconnect with a glorious past. The rivalry over the past has spun multiple controversies, notably on the ethnicity of the Ancient Macedonians. Modern Greek historians have produced evidence linking them with the Doric branch of the Hellenes. They have also argued about the Greek origins of the very name *Macedonia*. Non-Greeks, on the other hand, insist that the Ancient Macedonians, though their aristocracy was more or less Hellenized at the time of Alexander's conquest, were of Thracian or Illyrian stock. They usually rely on various ancient sources portraying the Macedonians as barbarian non-Greeks and put forward arguments based on the fragmentary linguistic data we have. Thus the people of Ancient Macedon were either a close relative of the modern Albanians (thanks to the Illyrian connection) or, due to its imputed merger with the Slavs settling into the area during the 6th century AD, directly connected to the present-day majority population of the Republic of Macedonia. The war over the past boils down to the questions of not only who is the rightful heir of Macedon but also whose claim on the territory of geographic Macedonia is the most valid one.

The Macedonian Kingdom itself lived on for another 150 years after Alexander's death to be gradually conquered by Rome in a series of wars between 214 and 168 BC. The territory of the kingdom was transformed into a province bearing the name Macedonia, which also included territories beyond the northern boundaries of the Kingdom of Macedon. The Romans also established a network of garrisons, towns, and roads. Principal among the latter was the so-called Via Egnatia, constructed as early as 146 BC. It ran from the Adriatic coast through Lychnidos (Ohrid) and Salonica all the way to Byzantium (the future Constantinople), providing a great bolster for the province's economy and trade. The Roman presence led to the partial Latinization of the

population in the northernmost sections of today's Republic of Macedonia. This is testified not only by archeological evidence but also by the Aromanian (Vlach) population present in the area. However, in this period, most of Vardar and especially Aegean Macedonia was Greek speaking. In the 3rd century AD, the province was split into two parts: Macedonia Prima (in the south) and Macedonia Salutaris (in the north). In 318, both provinces were included in the Prefecture of Macedonia, which was part of the Diocese of Illyricum spanning much of the western Balkans.

From the 1st century AD, Christianity started spreading into Macedonia. According to tradition, the town of Philippi, where in 42 BC Mark Antony and Octavian (later Augustus) defeated Caesar's murderers Cassius and Brutus, was also the first place in Europe where Apostle Paul preached. He also authored two letters to the inhabitants of Salonica that have been included in the New Testament. In 306, a Salonican military officer by the name of Demetrius was martyred for his Christian faith during the persecutions of Emperor Maximinus. His legend soon came to enjoy a great deal of popularity, and he became the patron saint of his native city.

Macedonia in the Middle Ages

When the Roman Empire finally split in two following the death of Theodosius I in 395, present-day geographic Macedonia was included in the eastern part, now commonly called Byzantium. The lands in question suffered heavily in the next three centuries from the invasions of Visigoths, Huns, Vandals, and Slavs, which profoundly altered the area's demographics. The indigenous population was either exterminated or pushed into inaccessible highland areas and the handful of fortified cities such as Salonica. This opened space for new settlers. By the latter part of the 6th century, Slavic tribes had established themselves in present-day Macedonia in great numbers. In 598, they besieged Salonica. Sieges continued into the following century, often with the support of Avars and Bulgars, nomad peoples who had migrated from central Asia to southeast Europe. Some contemporary Macedonian historians have seen these tribal unions, referred to by the Byzantines as *Sklaviniai*, as proto-states indicative of the formation of a new Slavic Macedonian ethnos at this early stage. However, it is doubtful whether

the *Sklaviniai* were sufficiently centralized polities. They also spread into Thrace, which is now not seen as part of the ethnic Macedonian homeland. The migrations during the early Byzantine centuries also changed the meaning of the geographical term *Macedonia*, which seems to have moved to the east together with some of the non-Slavic population of the old Roman province. In the early 9th century an administrative unit (*theme*) of Makedonikon was established in what is now Thrace (split among Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey) with Adrianople as a capital. It was the birthplace of Emperor Basil I (867–886), the founder of the so-called Macedonian Dynasty in Byzantium.

In the middle of the 9th century, Macedonia was conquered by the expanding Bulgarian Kingdom. Bulgarian historians have seen that as the turning point where Macedonian Slavs were assimilated into the Slavo-Bulgar ethnos, which had been evolving since the establishment of a common state north of the Balkan range in the 680s. A crucial factor, from their perspective, was Bulgaria's Christianization (864) and the adoption of the Slavic script developed by the Byzantine monks from Salonica saints Cyril and Methodius, who were probably not Slavs themselves. Contemporary Macedonian historians, on the other hand, argue that the Macedo-Slavs managed to preserve their cultural distinctiveness under Bulgarian rule. Thus, the Slavic-language academy in Ohrid established by St. Clement, dispatched by the Bulgarian prince Boris I, is alternatively seen as a Bulgarian or a Macedonian center of education. The same may be said of the state of Tsar Samuel and his successors (976–1018) centered in Ohrid. Though it was named Bulgaria by its contemporaries, including Samuel's nemesis, Emperor Basil II "the Bulgarslayer," Yugoslav Macedonian historians have questioned whether Bulgarian is an ethnic term or a political label masking an essentially Macedo-Slavic entity.

After one and a half centuries of Byzantine domination, power in Macedonia was captured by various local feudal lords of Slavo-Vlach origin such as Dobromir Chrysus, the lord of Prosek. In the 1200s, the Second Bulgarian Tsardom led by the Asenid family succeeded in annexing most of the area. The decline of Bulgaria in the 1240s, following the great territorial expansion under John II Asen, allowed the Byzantines to reestablish their rule, but in 1282 the Serbian king Milutin captured considerable portions in the north. Macedonia was at the center of the empire of Stephen Dušan (1330–1355), who was crowned

as “tsar of Serbs and Greeks” in Skopje in 1346. The Serbian empire extending from the Danube River to central Greece quickly fragmented after Duan’s death into multiple smaller fiefdoms. Yet the memory of the empire was there, and romantic nationalism in modern Serbia represented by institutions such as the St. Sava Society (established in 1886) rediscovered the Vardar region as part of “Old Serbia.” Another key figure in Serbian historical imagination was the ruler of Prilep, Prince Marko, a mythical hero celebrated by southern Slavic peoples from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. In 1371, Marko’s father, King Vukašin Mrnjavčević, together with his uncle Ugleša of Serres, were defeated by Sultan Murad I, not far from Adrianople, which had recently been conquered and made the Ottoman capital. By the end of the century, most of Macedonia had fallen to the Muslim armies who were unrivaled after the 1389 Battle of Kosovo. Salonica, which neither Bulgarians nor Serbs had previously been able to seize, passed to direct Ottoman control in 1430.

The Ottoman Period

The Ottoman conquest changed the face of Macedonia dramatically. The towns acquired Muslim majorities due to settlement from the Anatolian provinces and conversion to Islam. In addition, mass influxes of Turkic tribesmen created considerable enclaves alongside the Vardar River as well as in the southern lowlands. After their expulsion from the Spanish crown’s territories in the late 15th century, there came the Sephardic Jews, who soon became the dominant community in Salonica, known as “the Mother of Israel.” Another important migratory flow involved Vlachs who came to Macedonia after the utter destruction of the town of Moscopole (1788) by Ali Paşa of Tepelena, the break-away ruler of Ioannina. Albanians, a majority of whom converted to Islam, grew stronger in the northwestern areas such as the Polog Valley. The form of Islam favored by many converts, whether Slav, Albanian, or Greek, was a Sufi-Bektashi variety that was more amenable than mainstream Sunnism to local Christian and even pagan practices.

Under the Ottoman Empire, religion rather than ethnicity stood out as the most significant marker of identity. All the sultans’ subjects were divided into confessional nonterritorial communities, the *millets*, which enjoyed a degree of autonomy in civil affairs. Of key importance was

the Orthodox millet (*millet-i Rum*, literally “the millet of the Romans,” referring to the legacy of the Eastern Roman Empire) headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople and his metropolitans at the local level. The patriarchate consolidated its control over the Macedonian hierarchy after abolishing the Ohrid Archbishopric in 1767 established by Emperor Basil II in 1019 to replace the Bulgarian Patriarchate linked to the House of Tsar Samuel. Though the archbishopric was dominated by Greek-speaking prelates from the very outset, the memory of its closure became a rallying cry of Slavic activists during the 19th century in their struggle against the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Constantinople. Still, shared religious identity was an important resource for Slavs, Vlachs, and Orthodox Albanians, helping them to achieve higher social status through integrating in Greek communities in urban centers such as Salonica, Bitola (Manastir), Castoria, or Serres. In any case, the Orthodox creed did not become an object of Hellenization prior to the advent of the modern Greek nation-state in 1830.

The gradual loss of power by the Ottoman Empire had tremendous consequences for Macedonia. As early as 1689, Skopje (or Üsküb in Ottoman Turkish) was razed to the ground by the Austrian general Eneo Piccolomini. Further to the east, the Austrian raid provoked an abortive rebellion led by Karpoš, previously serving the Ottomans as head of a Christian auxiliary unit. More importantly, with the Ottoman decline Macedonia was becoming increasingly open to western trade. This strengthened the Orthodox element, which took in its hands exchanges with central Europe and, to a lesser degree, the Mediterranean. Greeks and Hellenized Vlachs or Slavs established extensive networks procuring goods such as tobacco, poppy resin (*afion*), grain, rice, cotton, leather items, and so on. Their power grew in towns at a time when the Muslim population was in decline because of the adverse effect of the ceaseless wars with Austria and Russia, the internal political turmoil, and epidemics. This newly emerging commercial class was the main patron of Greek schools proliferating across Macedonia at the end of the 18th century. The uprising of 1821, then, sent shockwaves through southern Macedonia, where Greek influence was the strongest. Many local Orthodox, both Greek and non-Greek speakers, joined the movement as some of them had done earlier during the First Serbian Uprising

(1804–1812). Yet the Ottoman response was very harsh, particularly on the Greek community in Salonica, which was subjected to a massacre.

The Greek national movement was soon to be replicated by the Slavs. During the 1830s in cities like Vraca, Sofia, and Skopje, local guildsmen and merchants accused Greek prelates of corruption and urged their replacement with Bulgarians. The unrest grew stronger in the following decades. Popular mobilization led to the establishment of Bulgarian schools subsidized by the urban inhabitants, which though few in number were becoming increasingly prosperous. That was in no small measure due to the modernization and centralization reforms of the Tanzimat era. In the late 18th century the Ottoman Balkans were beset by insecurity, brigandry, plunder, and the struggle of ambitious local Muslim potentates such as Ali of Tepelena, Celaddin of Ohrid, or Ismail Bey of Serres against Istanbul. Starting in 1839, the Tanzimat Reforms reasserted the sultan's control, abolished the *janissary* corps to lay the foundation of a modern military, reorganized bureaucracy and taxation, and promised non-Muslims an equal status in the empire through edicts promulgated by successive sultans such as the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane (1839) and Hatt-ı Hümayun (1856), and the Nationality Law (1869).

Bulgarian activists were both empowered by the Tanzimat social and economic reforms and exposed to the ideas coming from outside the Ottoman realm, including the romantic notions of ethnic revival and the Slavophilism of Russian intellectuals. A new generation of nationalists glorified their nation's medieval past described in books like the *Slavo-Bulgarian History* written back in 1762 by Father Paisius, a Mount Athos monk whom later Bulgarian historians linked with the town of Bansko in Pirin Macedonia. By the 1860s, a nationalist intelligentsia was already present in Macedonia. Profoundly shaped by Greek schooling in their youth, figures such as Grigor Purlicev, Dimitri and Konstantin Miladinov, Jordan Hadžikonstantinov-Džinot, and Rajko Žinzifov readily embraced the Bulgarian and Slavophile causes. Yugoslav Macedonian historians have seen these intellectuals as representatives of a Macedonian cultural revival, and their alignment with the “Bulgarians proper” as more of a tactical move aimed against the common enemy, the Greeks. There were differences, for instance, regarding the codification of a standard language. Still, by the late 1870s, Macedonian ac-

tivists had accepted a version of Bulgarian largely based on dialects spoken in the northeastern part of present-day Bulgaria.

The Scramble for Macedonia, 1870–1913

A turning point in the development of national antagonisms in Macedonia was the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 by the Sultan Abdülaziz’ solemn declaration (*ferman*). The exarchate supporters were excommunicated by the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1872, and the two churches engaged in a long rivalry over the loyalty of the Slavs in Macedonia. Church affiliation equaled national allegiance. Though the Bulgarian party was stronger, many preferred to stay with the patriarchate due to traditionalism, convenience, or outright support for the Greek cause. In the northern areas of Macedonia, Patriarchists often had Serbian sympathies. Thus it would be wrong to assume that nationalizing movements (or propagandas) came into Macedonia from the outside. On the contrary, they had many passionate local supporters who, at least in the Bulgarian case, played an indispensable role in forging a powerful nationalist narrative, laying a claim over Macedonia’s past and future. At the same time, national affiliations were typically stronger in urban environments exposed to modernizing tendencies. In the rural areas, particularly where Slavs did not live side by side with non-Slavic Orthodox, the label “Christian” (*risjanin*) was more common than either “Bulgarian” or “Serb.” This was the reason why Macedonian Slavs were famously characterized as a *masse flottante* by scholars such as Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić. Contrary to what Cvijić believed, however, this was not exceptional to Macedonia but rather the normal state of affairs in premodern rural societies across Europe.

What is often overlooked is how Bulgarians and Greeks collaborated unknowingly from the middle decades of the 19th century onward in breathing new life into the geographical name *Macedonia*, which was all but forgotten during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. In the late Ottoman period, “Macedonia” as such did not exist as an administrative unit in the empire but was divided into the *vilâyet*s (provinces) of Salonica (Selânik), Bitola (Manastir), and Kosovo centered in Skopje (Üsküb), the last two also including parts of Albania and Kosovo respectively. Greek nationalism, fixated on the continuity between ancient

and modern Hellenes, was keen to project the name *Macedonia* as a way to assert the Greek historical character of the area. In 1845, for instance, the story of Alexander was published in a Slavo-Macedonian dialect scripted in Greek characters. The Slavs were heirs to the Ancient Macedon, hence, a part of the Hellenic nation that had forgotten their native language, not unlike the Turkish-speaking Orthodox (the *Karamanli*) in central Anatolia. For their part, Bulgarian nationalists readily accepted Macedonia as a regional denomination. If in 1816, Father Kiril Pejčinović from the Lešok Monastery near Tetovo identified his land as “Lower Moesia,” 50 years thereafter Petko Slavejkov, a leading Bulgarian national activist, was publishing a daily named *Macedonia* in Istanbul. Macedonia had become one of the “historic” Bulgarian lands together with Thrace and Bulgaria proper (the lands north of the Balkan range, occasionally labeled Moesia). “Macedonian Bulgarian” turned into a standard phrase.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, ending with the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano, put the Macedonian Question on the European diplomatic table. For the most part, Macedonia was included in the freshly established Bulgarian Principality. A few months later, a great power conference hosted by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in Berlin ruled to return Macedonia into the Porte’s fold in order to prevent undue expansion of Russia’s influence in southeast Europe. That solution suited Austria-Hungary, which was itself eyeing the port of Salonica, and Great Britain, wary of the Russian ambitions to penetrate into the Mediterranean. In Macedonia, however, the Treaty of Berlin provoked widespread discontent, leading to an armed uprising in the valley of Struma in October 1878. While the uprising was suppressed, article 23 of the treaty made possible the introduction of home rule in parts of “Turkey in Europe,” which put into question the durability of the Berlin arrangements.

Autonomy for Macedonia and the *vilâyet* of Adrianople (southern Thrace) became the key demand for a generation of Slavic activists. In October 1893, a group of them founded the Bulgarian Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee in Salonica. Later renamed Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO), it engaged in creating a network of secretive committees and armed guerrillas—called by the Turks *comitadjis* (komitacılar), literally “committee men”—in the two regions as well as in Bulgaria, where an

ever-growing and politically influential Macedonian and Thracian diaspora resided. Heavily influenced by the ideas of socialism, Russian populism, and, in some cases, anarchism, the IMARO activists saw the future autonomous Macedonia as a multinational polity, and did not pursue the self-determination of Macedonian Slavs as a separate ethnicity. Therefore, *Macedonian* (and also *Adrianopolitan*) was an umbrella term covering Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, Albanians, Serbs, Jews, and so on. While this message was taken aboard by many Vlachs as well as some Patriarchist Slavs, it failed to impress other groups for whom the IMARO remained, as the British journalist and relief worker Henry Brailsford and others called it, “the Bulgarian Committee.” Yet the latter resisted the influence of Sofia and the bands of the Supreme Macedonian Committee, an organization dominated by Macedonia-born Bulgarian army officers closely linked with Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria. However, with the Slavs, the IMARO propagandists, many of whom were Exarchist schoolteachers or even came from “old Bulgaria,” instilled a very strong Macedonian regionalist identity that existed in symbiosis with Bulgarian national sentiments. The IMARO was strong among the town-dwelling intelligentsia and craftsmen and also drew support from the rural masses attracted by its calls for land redistribution at the expense of the big Muslim landlords.

Macedonia made it into the world’s newspaper headlines in August 1903 when the IMARO launched, on Prophet Elijah’s Day (*Ilinden*), a mass uprising in the Bitola *vilâyet*, followed by hostilities in the Strandža mountains, close to the Ottoman capital. The IMARO men in the town of Kruševo declared a republic. The hope of intervention by the great powers or Bulgaria driving the organizers, however, was misplaced. By the autumn, Ottoman troops were in full control, the guerrilla units had withdrawn into Bulgaria, and the village militias had been disbanded. Much glorified by the historiographies of both Bulgaria and post-1944 Yugoslav Macedonia, the uprising had a great human cost in the affected areas: thousands of killed and wounded, destroyed towns and villages, mass emigration into Bulgaria and North America. It dealt a blow to the IMARO, too. Over the next decade, the organization, while preserving some of its previous strength, split into feuding factions divided by ideas (left-wing radicals insisting on decentralization of its activities versus centralists) and personal enmities (the leftist Jane Sandanski versus the “centralist” Hristo Matov versus Boris Sara-

fov). This opened the door for incursions from Greek and Serbian bands, which challenged the power of both the IMARO and the Bulgarian Exarchate across Macedonia. Despite its dire consequences, the Ilinden myth became entrenched in popular consciousness. During World War II, it was taken aboard by communists of the Vardar region who chose 2 August 1944 (Ilinden) to proclaim the establishment of a national state of the (ethnic) Macedonians.

During that period, Macedonia also saw the rise of Albanian and Aromanian (Vlach) nationalism. In 1908, a congress held in Bitola worked out the modern Albanian alphabet, a unifying factor for a people split between Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Islam. Importantly Albanian leaders projected the *vilâyets* of Skopje and Bitola as parts of their nation's future homeland. A major Albanian revolt in 1912 culminated in the seizure of Skopje. Home to a large Vlach community, Bitola was the site of ferocious fighting between a pro-Greek and pro-Romanian faction. In 1905, the Porte recognized a separate Vlach *millet*, by which time Bucharest was already spending considerable amounts on the maintenance of schools and cultural institutions in Macedonia and other Vlach-populated areas in the Ottoman realms.

Political upheavals in Macedonia had important consequences for the Ottoman state as a whole. In June 1908, the Third Macedonian Army staged a *coup d'état* under the leadership of modernizing officers. One of them was Mustafa Kemal, later known as Atatürk, born and raised in Salonica and schooled in Bitola. The Committee of Union and Progress (or the Young Turks) restored the Ottoman constitution, which had been in force for a brief period from 1876 to 1878, declared the equality of all nations in the empire, and organized elections for a multiethnic and multiconfessional parliament. It won the enthusiastic support of the left wing in the IMARO headed by Jane Sandanski, whose forces even helped the Young Turks suppress a revolt in Constantinople in 1909 trying to bring back the *ancien régime*. The Young Turk Revolution put a temporary halt to the endemic violence in the Macedonian countryside by Bulgarian (IMARO), Greek, and Serbian bands.

However, the reforms could not prevent the ambitious Balkan states from exploiting the vulnerability of the Ottoman Empire taking over its European domains. In October 1912, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro jointly launched the First Balkan War, and by the spring of the next year the Ottoman army was pushed as far as the outskirts of

Constantinople. Dividing the spoils, notably Macedonia, proved more difficult, however. In the summer of 1913, the Second Balkan War was fought between Bulgaria on one side, and its former allies joined by Romania and the Ottomans on the other. Bulgaria lost and was left with less than 10 percent of Macedonia, the bulk going to Greece and Serbia.

Vardar Macedonia in the Interwar Decades

Bulgaria managed to regain control over the Vardar region in the autumn of 1915 as it entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers. After a decade of wars and deprivations, however, its troops were defeated by the Entente at the Salonica front in the autumn of 1918. Vardar Macedonia was again under Belgrade and became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (after 1929, Yugoslavia). Macedonian Slavs were seen as pure Serbs, and even the name Macedonia was replaced by “South Serbia” or simply “South.” The Vardar prefecture (*banovina*) set up in October 1929 included territories in Kosovo and the Morava Valley in Serbia proper. About 70,000 Serb colonists from as far afield as Herzegovina were settled in lands vacated through the mass emigration of Muslims.

The new settlements were intended to strengthen Belgrade’s hold in the south, particularly in the face of the challenge posed by the IMARO’s successor, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO). The IMRO was relaunched in the winter of 1919–1920 by Todor Aleksandrov and General Aleksandŭr Protogerov, both belonging to the pre-1912 “centralist” faction that succeeded in neutralizing its left-wing challengers. The IMRO operated from bases in Pirin Macedonia and the districts of Kjustendil and Dupnica, where it had created a state within a state. In the first half of the 1920s, the area adjacent to the Bulgarian border became a true battlefield, prompting the Serbs to concentrate as much as 70 percent of the country’s gendarmerie forces in the area and even create a paramilitary force of local loyalists. For its part, the IMRO sought support from Benito Mussolini’s Italy and made common cause with the Albanians in Kosovo and western Macedonia, suffering from the heavy-handed policies of Belgrade, and later with the Croat *Ustaše*. The IMRO confronted the Bulgarian Agrarian People’s Union government in Sofia, which pursued a foreign policy geared toward a *rapprochement* with Belgrade. The organization’s

fighters were involved in the military coup of June 1923, and it was one of the IMRO guerrilla leaders who brutally murdered prime minister Aleksandŭr Stambolijski. Another prominent victim was the Yugoslav king Aleksandar, assassinated in Marseilles by an IMRO hitman in October 1934 commissioned by the Croat separatists and trained in Hungary.

The interwar period was one of the most significant thresholds in the history of Vardar Macedonia. Bulgarian influence was in decline due to the dismantling of the exarchate's schooling system and the abolition of its cultural and ecclesiastical institutions. A new generation of Macedonians grew up in the 1920s and 1930s that had not been exposed to Bulgarian education and the standard Bulgarian idiom. By and large, the Bulgarian nationalist elites, growing locally since the mid-19th century, sought refuge in Bulgaria, joining more than 100,000 Slavs arriving from Greek-held Macedonia as a result of the wars and the population exchanges in the early 1920s. The IMRO's power waned, initially because of the endless internecine struggles between the supporters of Ivan (Vančo) Mihajlov and General Aleksandŭr Protogerov but chiefly due to the organization's suppression in Bulgaria in May 1934. The left-wing IMRO (United), to a large degree a branch of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), was not particularly influential on the ground either. Everyday life in the Vardar region was under heavy Serbian influence reflected, among other things, in the changes within the vernacular. By the 1930s, Belgrade and Zagreb, not Sofia, attracted Macedonian youth as centers of culture and higher education.

These processes catalyzed a sense of separateness built around the notion of Macedonia as a homeland. With the gradual liberalization of the Yugoslav regime in the 1930s, fiction and drama in Macedonian dialects began to appear sporadically. Marginal figures such as Krste Petkov Misirkov, celebrated in today's Republic of Macedonia, had previously foreseen the Macedonian Slavs' development into a separate nation. Yet their vision came to fruition only once the border between Vardar Macedonia and Bulgaria (including the Pirin region) deepened. In the 1930s, the idea of the Macedonians being neither Serbs nor Bulgarians but a distinctive Slavic people gained greater acceptance. It was taken up by the communist movement. In 1934 the Comintern adopted a special resolution to that effect, which was embraced by both Bulgarian and Yugoslav communists. Both parties saw Macedonism as a mu-

tually acceptable solution to the national question in the area and a basis for a future union between the two countries or even a Balkan federation, a cause that had been previously espoused by the IM(A)RO left. In the late 1930s, procommunist circles in Sofia published propaganda brochures on the issue as well as poetry in Macedonian. While the BCP was later blamed by nationalist historians for its “national treason,” clearly Macedonism was a much more palatable solution than the utter Serbianization of the Vardar, which in certain places such as Skopje was well advanced.

World War II and the Emergence of Yugoslav Macedonia

After the defeat of Yugoslavia by Nazi Germany in April 1941, most of the territory of Vardar Macedonia was occupied by Bulgaria. The western districts of Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, Kičevo, and Struga were taken by Italy and included into its protectorate Albania. Though Yugoslav Macedonian historians have exalted the resistance against the “fascist occupiers,” there is ample evidence showing that, initially, the Slavic population greeted with enthusiasm the Bulgarian forces and administrative and educational authorities. Many officers and civil servants were in fact repatriated locals. When the Yugoslav communists headed by Tito called the Macedonians to arms, this fell on deaf ears. The local party head, Metodija Šatorov (Šarlo), argued that the Bulgarian authorities, though “bourgeois-fascist,” were not “foreign,” and went so far as to suggest that Macedonian communists should join the BCP. To Šarlo, the conditions were not ripe for a partisan struggle on the model of other parts of Yugoslavia. To some extent he was right: there was little love for the prewar regime and no willingness to fight to bring the old state back to life. One of the most popular moves of the Bulgarians was the eviction of the Serb colonists from Macedonia. Though the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was against it, Šarlo remained in favor. Ultimately, Tito managed to remove—with support from Moscow—“the old Bulgarian” Šarlo and dispatch from Serbia Lazar Koliševski and other pro-Yugoslav cadres. They organized an attack against the Bulgarian police department in Prilep on 11 October 1941, a key date celebrated in Yugoslav Macedonia. The attack did not come to much and its perpetrators, Koliševski included, were quickly

arrested and sentenced by the authorities. Communist resistance posed a negligible challenge for the regime.

The Bulgarian authorities soon squandered their credit. Implanted from “old Bulgaria,” they were insensitive to the local context, discriminated against the *Vardarci* when it came to public-sector employment (often because the latter had poor command of standard Bulgarian), and ran unpopular requisitions, justifying them with war exigencies. Communists, however, were slow to take full advantage of this. Their armed activities remained very feeble and mostly centered in the Italian-held areas where partisans protected the Slavic population against the Albanian nationalist *Balli Kombëtar*. The communists’ power started growing only in 1943 with the capitulation of Italy, which left behind weapons caches taken by the local guerrilla units. Another important factor was the Soviet victories against the Nazis, which made it clear to everyone where the war was heading. What also made a difference were the organizational talents of Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, a Montenegrin emissary dispatched by Tito in the spring of 1943 to instruct Macedonian communists.

What helped the pro-Yugoslav partisans was their ability to harness the nascent Macedonian nationalism. In the resolutions of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in the Bosnian town of Jajce (29 November 1943), Macedonia figured as one of the constituent republics of the new Yugoslavia (though no Macedonian representative was actually attending). A separate Communist Party of Macedonia had already been formed in March by Tempo. In June 1943 it issued a proclamation that called for the establishment of a new Macedonian republic and nation transcending the old divides between pro-Serbians, pro-Greeks, or Bulgarophiles (*srbomani*, *grkomani*, and *bugarofili*). A manifest authored by the “People’s Liberation Army” (October 1943) referred to the tradition of Ilinden, the Kruševo Republic, and Goce Delcev, legendary leader of the one-time IMARO. This time, however, the partisans stated clearly that the future of the republic lay in new Yugoslavia, something they had previously shied away from stating explicitly.

The blend of communism and nationalism proved a popular magnet. The idea of Macedonia, though injected with different meanings, helped build a wide coalition. When the AVNOJ’s Macedonian equivalent (ASNOM) declared the creation of a socialist republic at the

“Second Ilinden” (2 August 1944), Metodija Andonov-Čento, a non-communist, was elected as president. Čento favored collaboration with some “Bulgarophile” and/or “IMRO” elements in the name of new Macedonia. He and his supporters, moreover, had a lukewarm attitude toward reinclusion into Yugoslavia and advocated the unification of the three parts of Macedonia in the framework of a Balkan federation (like the prewar IMRO (United) and the BCP) or as a western protectorate (not unlike the Mihajlovist IMRO). This line clashed with the orthodox communist and pro-Belgrade position of Tempo and Koliševski, released from prison in September 1944 when the communist-dominated Fatherland Front came to power in Bulgaria with the help of the Red Army, which soon gained an upper hand. In the years to follow, many Macedonians were killed, imprisoned, or persecuted on charges of “collaborating with the occupier,” “separatist leanings,” and the like. Besides Čento himself, these included older-generation figures, once part of the IMARO’s left and the IMRO (United), like Panko Brašnarov and Pavel Šatev. Importantly the latter tended to sympathize with the Soviet position once the quarrel with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia broke out in the summer of 1948.

Macedonia in the Yugoslav Federation

The Yugoslav decades played a crucial role in consolidating the Macedonian nation. In mid-1945, Macedonian was standardized as a literary language based on the dialects of the Prilep-Bitola area that were deemed sufficiently remote from both Serbian and Bulgarian. Its first grammar appeared in due course. A literature in Macedonian grew, supported by the communist authorities, and soon produced its classics, such as works by Blaže Koneski, a leading member of the language standardization commission. The republic established a range of cultural and educational institutions such as the Institute for National History founded in 1948 and a Macedonian University replacing the King Boris III University set up during the war. In 1967, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts opened. In the same year, two centuries after the abolition of the Ohrid Archbishopric, Skopje declared the independence (autocephaly) of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. This act is still disputed by the Serbian Orthodox Church to whose diocese

Macedonian bishoprics had previously belonged, and thus the other orthodox churches around the world have not extended recognition.

The project of creating a Macedonian nation was a success. It was speedily transforming the erstwhile *masse flottante* into “ethnic Macedonians” parallel with the unfolding process of socialist modernization. Rising literacy levels and upward social mobility associated with the country’s gradual industrialization and urbanization consolidated national feelings. A key element was the legitimacy of the Yugoslav socialist system. Importantly, the Yugoslav communist state gave up in 1953 the policy of forceful collectivization, which had been a source of many grievances in rural areas. After the first decade of deprivations, Titoism created unprecedented levels of prosperity in a land that had long suffered from political turmoil and economic underdevelopment. This was not offset even by the lasting reality that Macedonia was among the poorest parts of the federation, experienced high levels of unemployment, and depended on transfers from the richer north. If identifications with Bulgaria had survived in some quarters into the 1940s, they largely became extinct with the coming of age of the post-1944 generations of Macedonians. Macedonization had a similar impact on populations and regions that had in the past espoused Serbian national identity. Yugoslavism and the orientation toward Belgrade, still considered the real center of public and cultural life, played no small part in that. Notably, newspapers, periodicals, and books in Serbo-Croatian were widely available and popular in socialist Macedonia, often more so than the local ones. This led Lazar Koliševski to reflect at one point whether Macedonia should not accept the federation’s main language as its official one, as an inevitable step on the road to socialist modernization. In the 1960s, this view provoked a backlash by more nationally-minded communists around the new party leader Krste Crvenkovski. In 1966, Crvenkovski aligned himself with the Croat leadership in bringing down Aleksandar Ranković, the key exponent of “centralist” tendencies within the Yugoslav leadership and patron of the “pro-Serb” Koliševski.

Overall, the Yugoslav experience was about the promotion, not the dilution, of Macedonian identity. Tito’s support for the communist-dominated Democratic Army of Greece during the civil war (1946–1949) raised hopes for annexation of Aegean Macedonia, or at least the western districts of Castoria (Kostur), Florina (Lerin), and Edhessa

(Voden) populated by Slavic Macedonians. However, the defeat of the National Liberation Front-Greek People's Liberation Party (EAM-ELAS) in 1949 changed the dynamic. Many Slavs had to flee into Yugoslavia or the communist bloc countries. The prospect of bringing in Pirin Macedonia suffered a blow with the 1948 conflict between Tito and Stalin. Though communist authorities in Sofia continued to consider the population as ethnic Macedonian until the early 1960s, they expelled all teachers and "cultural workers" coming from Yugoslavia and closed the Macedonian-language institutions in the area. After 1948–1949, the nation-building process was more or less restricted to the boundaries of Yugoslav Macedonia.

The buildup of state and nation largely bypassed non-Christian ethnic minorities such as the Albanians, Turks, Roma, and the Slavic-speaking Muslims (known as *Torbeši*). While with the exception of the latter all were recognized as "nationalities," these communities benefited to a much smaller extent from the modernization policies of the central state. While they could read newspapers or attend schools in their own languages, they were less involved in the public sector and, particularly the Albanians, remained attached to the land and subsistence farming. Apart from the Vlachs, many of whom had been profoundly Slavicized, minorities were underrepresented in the party and state top leadership. The ethnicization of Macedonian identity—as opposed to the "supranational" concepts entertained by the turn-of-the-century IMARO—meant that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia belonged to the Slavs. With the strengthening of the Albanian institutions in Kosovo in the late 1970s, these became the focus of Macedonian Albanians' identity politics. Most Albanian elites would attend the University of Prishtina (offering courses in Albanian since 1970) rather than the Macedonian-language University of Skopje. Macedonian Albanians took part in all major upheavals originating in the Kosovar community, notably the 1981 demonstrations calling for the upgrading of Kosovo into a separate republic within Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the mass emigration of Turks in the 1950s, organized by Yugoslavia with Turkey's support, made the Albanians the most numerous minority group in Yugoslav Macedonia. The census of 1981 listed the number 377,208—nearly 20 percent of the republic's population. Their relative share was gradually rising thanks to higher birthrates: back in 1961 they had accounted for 13 percent. With the 1974 constitution, the

Socialist Republic of Macedonia was defined as a “state of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities.” In 1989, however, an amendment removed the reference over fears of separatism. This move galvanized the Albanians’ demand to be granted an equal status as a community, which had a lasting impact on the republic’s politics.

The nation-building process had important external dimensions. Skopje-based cultural institutions considered their task to be the “affirmation” (*afirmacija*) of the nation in the wider world. They had to show that Macedonians had, in fact, a long and distinguished history going back, according to the mainstream view, to the Slavic settlement in the 6th century, and according to others, to the times of Alexander and Philip. This led to bitter polemics with Greek and particularly Bulgarian historians. Under the leadership of Todor Živkov, Bulgaria changed its policy on Macedonia questioning the existence of a separate nation, particularly in the pre-1944 era. Historiographical battles between Sofia and Skopje academics over issues such as the legacy of the IMARO or the 19th-century “National Revival” became particularly virulent at times when relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were soured; for example, in the aftermath of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia condemned by Tito. Another field of competition was the numerous diaspora from the Aegean and Vardar region settled in different periods of the 20th century in North America and Australia (labor migration known as *pečalba* or *gurbet* is a social phenomenon with deep historical roots in some areas). Here Skopje had an upper hand, especially after Yugoslavia liberalized its emigration policy in the 1960s and unemployment prompted many young Vardarians to try their fortunes abroad.

The Republic of Macedonia after Independence

With Tito’s death in 1980 and the rise to power of Slobodan Milošević in Serbia, Yugoslavia slowly headed toward disintegration. Once it entered its critical stage in 1990–1991, the process raised many questions about the future of Macedonia. Emerging opposition groups such as the IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU) greeted the prospect of independence with enthusiasm. In Skopje, one could often come across graffiti such as “Salonica

is ours,” indicative of the nationalist fervor. Others, however, were skeptical and continued emphasizing the importance of the federal state for Macedonia’s political and economic stability. Among them was Kiro Gligorov, a Belgrade *apparatchik* and former aide to Tito, who was elected in January 1991 Macedonian president by the republic’s first multiparty parliament. On 3 June 1991, he launched, together with Alija Izetbegović, his counterpart from Bosnia-Herzegovina, a proposal for the preservation of Yugoslavia as a confederal state. However, with the final secession of Slovenia and Croatia and the ensuing wars, Macedonia was left with few options. On 8 September, a majority of 95 percent voted in a referendum for a “sovereign Macedonia enjoying *the right to enter into union of the former Yugoslav republics*” (emphasis added). In January 1992, Macedonian Albanians who had boycotted the September vote organized their own referendum and voted overwhelmingly for political and territorial autonomy. In 1994, they again boycotted a population census insisting that the Skopje government was intent on artificially pushing down their number.

At that point, Macedonia’s future seemed uncertain. Though the government of Nikola Kljusev, a nonaffiliated technocrat, succeeded in stabilizing the precarious economy and reining inflation, there were many outstanding political dilemmas. Observers pointed to the dangerous mixture of territorial aspirations by the neighboring states (“the four wolves”) and the internal fragmentation along religious and ethnic lines. In their eyes, the resurfacing Macedonian Question threatened to instigate a new Balkan war, similar to the ones in 1912–1913. Rump Yugoslavia had not formally acknowledged Macedonia’s independence, and the mutual border remained undemarcated until late 2000. Though Bulgaria was the first country to recognize the Republic of Macedonia in January 1992, its president, Željko Želez, declared, rather ill-advisedly, that this did not imply a recognition of the nation or its language. Greece disputed the right of the “Republic of Skopje” to be called “Macedonia” and use the Star of Vergina, as well as the references to Macedonians living in neighboring states in the newly adopted constitution. Because of dogged Greek opposition, Macedonia was not admitted as a member of the United Nations (UN) until April 1993, and then only under the provisional name of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In January 1994, Athens imposed an economic embargo that cut off access to the port of Salonica. That came on top of

the UN-imposed sanctions (May 1992) against rump Yugoslavia, which were greatly damaging for Macedonia's economy.

Yet a measure of stability was gradually achieved. The Yugoslav army withdrew peacefully in the spring of 1992 (taking away, however, all heavy weaponry). In March 1993, the UN dispatched a conflict prevention mission, the first one of this kind, to monitor the borders with Serbia and Albania. Importantly, the mission included a United States contingent. By the end of the year, the EU members had recognized Macedonia. An interim deal with Greece struck on 13 September 1995 helped normalize relations between the two neighbors. Macedonia changed its constitution and state symbols, though no solution to the name issue followed. After the end of the war in Bosnia (November 1995), Skopje established diplomatic relations with Belgrade, too. The Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) was part of the government coalitions led by the Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia (SDAM), heir to the communists, in the period 1992–1998. Macedonia's financial system, based on its new currency the *denar*, was stabilized with the assistance of the international financial institutions. Spared the bloodshed in other parts of former Yugoslavia, Macedonia now boasted the sobriquet "oasis of peace."

This image was as misleading as the gloomy "Balkan powder keg" stereotypes prevalent in the early 1990s. Macedonia's postsocialist economy was still stagnating, with unemployment reaching 40 percent. As elsewhere in the Balkans, the sanctions against rump Yugoslavia had spawned organized crime and corruption. In October 1995, president Kiro Gligorov barely survived a car bomb attack in the center of Skopje, suffering severe injuries. The collapse of several pyramid schemes in Bitola during 1997 eroded public trust in the SDAM and its premier, Branko Crvenkovski. The same year, Albanian demonstrations in Tetovo and Gostivar led to the imprisonment of the cities' mayors. Equally controversial was the operation of an Albanian-language university in the village of Mala Rečica near Tetovo, which was not recognized by the authorities. All that increased support for the Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA), which had split in 1994 from the PDP and put forward a more radical program.

The IMRO-DPMNU, headed by its charismatic leader, Ljubčo Georgievski, won the vote in 1998 and negotiated a coalition government with the DPA's Arben Xhaferi. As a result of the deal, the DPA estab-

lished its firm grasp over the Albanian-majority areas. Georgievski also pursued a *rapprochement* with Bulgaria. In February 1999, he signed with his Bulgarian counterpart Ivan Kostov a declaration whereby the two countries renounced all territorial claims. A diplomatic formula was found to circumvent the “language issue” that had deadlocked relations in the past. The declaration and all bilateral treaties in its wake had to be signed in the “constitutional languages” of both states. The IMRO-DPMNU government also kicked off the privatization process, which led to some foreign investment, mainly from nearby Greece. Murky privatization deals and corruption scandals, however, from early on tarnished the image of the parties in the coalition, notably its pillars Xhaferi and Georgievski.

Macedonia went through very difficult months in late 1998 and the first half of 1999. As the Kosovo crisis next door went into full swing, 250,000 Albanian refugees poured into the country, threatening the shaky ethnic balance. Only the international community’s unwavering support for Macedonia and the end of the conflict with an agreement signed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Serbia in the Macedonian town of Kumanovo (June 1999) upheld stability. The war, however, polarized society, with the Albanians strongly endorsing the NATO campaign and Kosovo’s detachment from Serbia as an international protectorate, and many Macedonians sympathizing with the Serbs and harboring fears about the dismemberment of their own country. In tune with this attitude, the SDAM candidate in the presidential elections of November 1999, Tito Petkovski, ran on a radically anti-Albanian ticket, a U-turn in the politics of his party marked by the “Old Fox” Gligorov’s pursuit of balances. This helped Boris Trajkovski (IMRO-DPMNU), who won the race largely thanks to the Albanian vote.

Peace proved short-lived. In early 2001, Albanian paramilitaries from the National Liberation Army (NLA) launched attacks against Macedonian police and occupied a number of remote villages along the border with Kosovo. From its headquarters above Tetovo, the NLA declared that it fought for equal rights for the Macedonian Albanians. The Skopje government was in a limbo. As the conflict escalated in the course of 2001 and army units were thrown in, the NLA won the sympathies of all Albanians dissatisfied with Xhaferi. With more than 1,000 casualties on both sides and thousands of internally displaced, Macedo-

nia badly needed external support to make it through. There was no UN mission on the ground anymore, owing to an earlier Chinese veto in the Security Council prompted by the recognition of Taiwan by Macedonia. NATO's contingent in Kosovo could do little to stop incursions. The only instrument at hand was direct diplomatic intervention by the United States and the EU. The end result was a framework agreement signed in Ohrid in August 2001 by the main Macedonian and Albanian parties (NLA included) in the presence of Washington and Brussels envoys. The deal called for amendments to the country's laws empowering the Albanians to the extent of becoming *de facto* a second constituent people. Minorities, or rather "communities" as the agreement put it, had to be represented proportionally in the state administration at all levels. Wherever they accounted for more than 20 percent, their languages became official. Administration and police forces were decentralized. Albanians were also given the right to veto key legislation affecting their rights. To guarantee stability and monitor disarmament, NATO deployed a small force in the areas affected by the conflict.

Though relations between ordinary Macedonians and Albanians remained sour, their political elites stuck to the framework agreement in the post-Ohrid years. Its implementation remained a key precondition for Macedonian membership in NATO and the EU. Elections in the autumn of 2002 brought back into power the SDAM, now rebranded as a force of moderation. That was in contrast with Georgievski, who was vocally blaming the West for siding with Albanian extremists and undermining Macedonia. The new Crvenkovski government was a coalition with the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) headed by the NLA commander-in-chief Ali Ahmeti. It enjoyed a relative success in fostering political stability despite shocks such as the tragic death of President Trajkovski as a result of an airplane crash (26 February 2004) or the scandals over extraditions of high-profile figures like Ljube Boškovski, former minister of interior, to The Hague to be tried for war crimes allegedly committed during the 2001 conflict. In January 2003, the government released figures from an earlier referendum showing that Albanians were still one-quarter of the population (both the DUI and the DPA claimed much higher numbers). Yet former premier Georgievski, who split at that time from the IMRO-DPMNU to form a more

radical group (IMRO-People's Party), used the figures to call for a partition of the country along ethnic lines.

The greatest challenge came in November 2004 after opposition groups initiated a referendum to block new legislation redrawing the boundaries of several important municipalities, which would increase the share of the Albanian population in Skopje beyond the one-fifth threshold required to have one's language recognized as official. Low turnout saved prime minister Hari Kostov and Branko Crvenkovski (elected president in April 2004), who were additionally bolstered by the U.S. recognition of the republic's right to use Macedonia as its name. That came as an unpleasant surprise for Athens, which was negotiating with Skopje, offering it alternative names such as Slavomacedonia or Upper Macedonia.

Political stabilization came hand in hand with closer relations with the West. Back in 2001, Macedonia became the first Yugoslav successor state aside from Slovenia to sign an association agreement with the EU. In December 2005 it was recognized by the EU as a candidate country that had declared two years earlier at the summit of Salónica that the crisis-ridden areas of former Yugoslavia and Albania ("the Western Balkans") were eligible for membership. Together with Albania and Croatia, partners since 2003 in the Adriatic Charter Process, Macedonia hoped to be included in the next expansion of NATO. Its ambitions were fueled by the positive signals from the George W. Bush administration at the alliance's summit in Riga (November 2006). Achievements in the international arena, however, could not offset frustration at home. The majority of Macedonian citizens saw little improvement of their living standards. Macedonia trailed behind other southeast European countries in terms of foreign investment and growth, particularly in the industrial sector. Thousands of Macedonians, notably the former premier and the IMRO-DPMNU leader Georgievski, opted for Bulgarian citizenship, lured by the opportunities of visa-free travel into the Schengen area and Sofia's membership in the EU, which stirred controversy on the pages of the Skopje dailies. In addition, the SDAM-led government of Vlado Bučkovski was marred by corruption scandals.

The combined effect of the internecine fights within the governments and widespread social discontent turned the tables again in favor of the IMRO-DPMNU, which had again moved to a more centrist and reform-minded position. The party obtained the largest chunk of the votes in

the July 2006 elections, and a government headed by Nikola Gruevski was inaugurated. As in 1998, the IMRO-DPMNU chose to coalesce with Xhaferi's DPA rather than with the DUI, which emerged as the strongest Albanian party. This decision led to much turmoil in Skopje politics in the following months. The DUI boycotted the parliament session arguing that the collective rights of the Albanian community had been undermined in violation of the spirit of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

As the tensions abated in 2007, Macedonia faced another crisis the following year when its bid to join NATO at the Bucharest summit in April 2008 was thwarted by a Greek veto over the unresolved name issue. This outcome was instrumentalized by the IMRO-DPMNU, whose legislators supported the DUI's initiative to dissolve the parliament and hold early elections in June. The vote, marred by violence between the two Albanian parties, resulted in an overwhelming victory for Gruevski, riding the waves of anti-Greek nationalism. Obtaining a comfortable parliamentary majority, he nonetheless opted for a coalition with an Albanian partner. This time it was the DUI that pledged to its voters to continue with the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and empower further the Albanian community.

Located in the geographical center of southeast Europe, Macedonia has mirrored, over the course of its modern history, all the ups and downs in the political and social development of its neighborhood and of the Old Continent as a whole. Macedonia emerged as a distinctive regional unit thanks to the Eastern Question and the squabbles between Balkan nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Slavic Macedonians' national identity, disputed though it may be, was shaped by the actions of its neighbors. Macedonia's postindependence path was chartered by the legacy of former Yugoslavia. The sense of history and identity, however, does not hold the key for the future as much as does the ability of Macedonia's citizens and elites to deal with the socioeconomic challenges of transition, build functional state institutions, and implement compromise solutions to accommodate the diverse ethnic communities, notably the Albanians. As in the past, this will again depend, in no small measure, on developments in Macedonia's surroundings as well as in wider Europe.

THE DICTIONARY

– A –

ABECEDAR. Primer published in 1925 by the Greek authorities to comply with minority-rights obligations under the League of Nations. Written in Latin characters, the Abecedar represented an early attempt to standardize Macedonian based on the dialects of Florina/Lerin. However, due to a change in the Greek government's policy, the Abecedar was never introduced into the schools of **Aegean Macedonia**. The primer was republished in 2006 by the **Rainbow Party**. *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

ABRAŠEVIĆ, KOSTA (1879–1898). Serbian poet born in **Ohrid**. He migrated at a young age to Šabac in **Serbia** and authored lyrical and patriotic poems. Abrašević was among the first social democrats in Serbia. *See also* LITERATURE; SERBS.

ACEV, MIRČE (1915–1943). Communist activist and **partisan** fighter. Born in the village of Oreovec near **Prilep** to a family linked to the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**, Acev was named after his uncle, one of the organization's operatives and brother of **Petūr Acev**. He joined the Yugoslav communists in 1938 while studying law in Belgrade. After 1939, Acev became one of the party's leading figures in **Vardar Macedonia** and organized strikes and demonstrations across the country. From April 1941 onward he was involved in the partisan resistance and attempted to organize a guerrilla unit in the **Azot** area near **Veles**. He was arrested by the Bulgarian police in December 1942 in Veles together with **Strašo Pindžur** and transferred to **Skopje**. Acev died there in

January 1943 after jumping from the police department's windows. *See also* ACEVA, VERA.

ACEV, PETŪR (1877–1939). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** *vojvoda* (commander) born in Oreovec near **Prilep**. He was the brother of **Mirce Acev** (1859–1901), who was involved in the murder of the Bulgarian prime minister **Stefan Stambolov** in 1895, and **Georgi “Goga” Acev** (1883–1906), an IMARO activist killed in an ambush by the Serb band commander **Gligur “Ljame” Sokolović**. An **Exarchist** teacher in **Prilep** and **Kruševo**, he later led the **Ilinden Uprising** in the **Bitola** region. After **World War I**, Acev settled in **Sofia** and was an active member of the **Ilinden Organization**. He died in Plovdiv in 1939.

ACEVA, VERA (1919–2006). Communist functionary and Yugoslav Macedonian official. Aceva was born in the village of Oreovec (near **Prilep**) and was the sister of **Mirče Acev**. She joined the Provincial Committee of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1940, where she opposed **Metodija Šatorov-Šarlo**. As head of the communist organization in **Prilep**, she was among the organizers of the attack against the police department on 11 October 1941. Aceva joined the **partisans** in August 1943 and after 1944 served in a number of high-ranking positions, though she clashed with **Lazar Koliševski** as well as with **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo** over his memoirs on the **partisan movement** in Macedonia. *See also* NACEVA, MARA.

ADRIANOPLE (TURKISH, EDİRNE; GREEK, ADRIANOU-POLI; BULGARIAN, ODRIN). City in Eastern Thrace (present-day Turkey). Adrianople was an important hub during the **Byzantine** period and was at the center of the *Thema Makedonikon*, from where the **Macedonian Dynasty** (9th–10th centuries) originated (*see* **BYZANTIUM**). A *vilâyet* capital in the **Ottoman Empire**, the city and its district formed one of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization's** revolutionary regions from the mid-1890s until the **Balkan Wars**.

AEGEAN MACEDONIA (EGEJSKA MAKEDONIJA, ALSO BELOMORSKA MAKEDONIJA). The section of **Ottoman Macedonia**

that came under Greek rule after the **Balkan Wars** (1912–1913). It includes parts of the old *vilâyet*s of Manastir (**Bitola**) and **Salonica** and has a territory of 34,603 square kilometers (51.57 percent of geographic Macedonia). The main urban centers include Salonica, Serres, Drama, Kavala, Kilkis/Kukuš, Edhessa/Voden, Veroia/Ber, Katerini, Florina/Lerin, Grevena, Kozani, Ptolemaïda/Kayılar, Naoussa/Neguš, and Castoria/Kostur. After the Lausanne Convention of 1923, the central and eastern parts of the province saw the settlement of 1.5 million Greek refugees from Asia Minor, the southern Black Sea coast, Eastern Thrace, and **Bulgaria**. The same areas were affected by a mass migration to Turkey and Bulgaria. The western districts, heavily populated by Macedonian Slavs, were one of the major battlegrounds during the **Greek Civil War** (1946–1949).

Aegean Macedonia was in the spotlight of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**'s plans for an autonomous Macedonian entity in the interwar years, and it was also part of **Josip Broz Tito**'s designs for enlarging the Yugoslav Macedonia in the late 1940s. The area was at the forefront of the nationalist upheaval in **Greece** following the independence of the Republic of Macedonia in the early 1990s. Slavic speakers of different national orientations still constitute a substantial minority in the west, despite the mass migrations to Canada, Australia, and the interior of Greece during the 1950s and 1960s. *See also* AEGEANS; EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA.

AEGEANS (MACEDONIAN, *EGEJCI*; GREEK, *SLAVOMAKEDONES* OR *SLAVOPHONES*). Slavic Macedonians originating from Greek (**Aegean**) Macedonia, mostly from the villages around Castoria/Kostur, Florina/Lerin, and Edhessa/Voden. A substantial number of *Egejci* sided with the communist-led forces in the **Greek Civil War** (1946–1949) and emigrated after its defeat to various countries of the Eastern bloc and, after the détente in the relations between Moscow and **Belgrade** in the mid-1950s, to **Yugoslavia** as well. They settled in great numbers in the towns of **Skopje**, **Bitola**, and **Prilep** (the Varoš neighborhood), **Štip**, and **Strumica**. Others departed to Canada and Australia, home to a significant **diaspora** from Aegean Macedonia dating back to the turn of the 20th century and the interwar decades.

Aegeans occupied positions of prominence in the party leadership, academia, and the arts in Skopje. At the same time, many members of the Aegean diaspora promoted a brand of Macedonian nationalism that was hostile to Yugoslavia. There were deep-running divisions between the *Egejci* and the immigrants coming into Australia and Canada from **Vardar Macedonia**, too. Still, “Aegean” groups such as the Association of the Child Refugees (originally established in Canada) or the Union of the Associations of the Macedonians from the Aegean Part of Macedonia have been involved in the political life of the Republic of Macedonia, particularly regarding the disputes with **Greece**. Aegeans were precluded from reclaiming their Greek citizenship by the repatriation legislation adopted by the Greek socialist government in 1982, privileging ethnic Greek exiles from the civil war period. The probable number of Slavic speakers in Aegean Macedonia today is between 50,000 and 100,000, though only a fraction of those have a Macedonian national affiliation.

AGOLI, NEXHAT (1914–1949). Yugoslav communist official of Albanian origin born in **Debar**. Agoli joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in the interwar period and was active in the **partisan movement** in **Albania**, **Kosovo**, and **Vardar Macedonia**. In December 1944, he was appointed deputy president of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia**. In 1948 Agoli opposed **Josip Broz Tito** over the **Cominform** resolution and died while in prison. *See also* YUGOSLAVIA.

AGRICULTURE. Owing to its mild climate and fertile soils, Macedonia has always provided good conditions for agriculture. The southern sections of the valleys of **Vardar** and Struma have been famous for their wine, tobacco, fruit, rice, and poppy resin (*afion*) production. As elsewhere in the Balkans, highland areas have been used for livestock breeding by transhumant shepherd groups. During the **Ottoman** period, most of the land was cultivated by sharecroppers under the direct or indirect control of Muslim landlords. The levels of agricultural technology and yields, outside the coastal areas, were low, even when compared to the neighboring independent countries of **Serbia** and **Bulgaria**. After the incorporation of the Vardar region into Serbia, the agricultural reforms redistributed land appropriated

by Serb colonists. The tobacco trade was centralized into the hands of the State Monopoly, which, in effect, kept incomes low. The world economic crisis after 1929 took a heavy toll, too. Whereas a kilogram of opium cost 1,200 Yugoslav dinars in 1928, by 1932 the price was just 200.

The communist regime implemented another land reform between 1945 and 1948. It ratified the expulsion of Serb colonists carried out by the Bulgarian authorities in 1941. It also broke down larger estates and put forward a radical and largely coercive collectivization program following the Soviet model. The collective farms (*Selsko-rabotnički zadruzi* or SRZs) drew in the Slavic Macedonians to a greater degree than the other ethnic groups. In 1953 the course toward collectivization, which encountered a great deal of grassroots opposition across **Yugoslavia**, was abandoned. Only about 3 percent of the cultivated land, mostly state owned, remained in the collective farms. The authorities reduced the allowed limit for privately owned plots from 25 to 10 hectares, nationalizing the surplus.

Due to the pressures of overpopulation, land scarcity, and state-imposed restrictions, the share of the rural population in Yugoslav Macedonia dwindled from 75 percent prior to **World War II** to less than 30 percent in the 1980s. Villagers headed for the expanding cities or sought employment abroad (*see* EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA). The share of agriculture in the gross national product also decreased from roughly one-half in the 1950s to one-quarter in the early 1970s. During the socialist period, most privately run farms were small in size and depended on state subsidies. There was an expansion of so-called technical crops: tobacco, sunflower, sesame, cotton, and rice.

In the mid-1990s, large public (“socially owned”) farms that had a virtual monopoly in food processing were privatized (*see* PRIVATIZATION). Macedonian agriculture suffered from the breakup of Yugoslavia, which constituted the most important market for its produce. Though its importance has decreased over time, agriculture continues to be an important sector in some regions of Macedonia such as **Strumica** (vegetables), **Tikveš** (viniculture), and Gevgelija and Resen (fruits). The country continues to export processed foods, beverages, and tobacco. At present, agriculture accounts for about 12 percent of the gross domestic product. *See also* ECONOMY.

AHMETI, ALI (1959–). Macedonian Albanian politician, leader of the **Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)**. Ahmeti was born in the village of Zajas near **Kičevo**. During his studies in Prishtina in the early 1980s, he was one of the leaders of the Kosovar student movement. Persecuted by the authorities, he was granted asylum in Switzerland in 1986. Ahmeti was active in the Albanian separatist movement in **Kosovo** and, after 2001, he emerged as a spokesperson for the **National Liberation Army**, which he had established together with his maternal uncle Fazli Veliu. After the conclusion of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** he founded the DUI, which won a majority of the Albanian votes in September 2002. With the party joining the governing coalition, Ahmeti emerged as one of the most powerful politicians in the country, though formally he did not hold any ministerial position. In early 2006, Ahmeti pushed for a boycott of the Macedonian parliament after the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** refused to invite the DUI as a coalition partner.

ALBANIA. Macedonia has good relations with Albania, its western neighbor. Both countries share an aspiration to become members of the **European Union** and have previously cooperated on the road to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, which opened its doors to Albania in April 2008. They also participate in the plethora of regional institutions and schemes bringing together the Balkan countries. Since the end of the communist regime in 1991, Albania has refrained from putting forward claims regarding the Albanian-populated areas in western and northern Macedonia. It has granted rights to the Slavic Macedonian minorities along the border (in Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo areas). However, Albania postponed the recognition of Macedonia's independence until April 1993, hoping to put pressure on Skopje to upgrade its Albanian community into a constitutive nation.

At the same time, trade and infrastructure connections between the two neighbors remain underdeveloped. This is very much a legacy of the Cold War, when Albania pursued an isolationist foreign policy. Macedonian **Albanians**, by and large, have stronger social, economic, and cultural links with their kin in **Kosovo**, though the areas around Lakes Prespa and **Ohrid** and **Debar**, which now straddle the

border, were prior to the **Balkan Wars** part of a single socioeconomic space. Various international institutions and Western nongovernmental organizations have been trying since the late 1990s to resuscitate and develop cross-border cooperation with economic and social initiatives. This was helped by an intergovernmental agreement signed in February 2008 to abolish visas and enable people living in a radius of 20 kilometers from the border to cross into the neighboring country without a passport. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN POLICY.

ALBANIANS (MACEDONIAN, *ALBANCI*; ALBANIAN, *SHQIP-TARËT*; TURKISH, *ARNAVUTLAR*). The second largest ethnic group in the Republic of Macedonia, numbering some 510,000 people or one-quarter of the population (according to the census held in 2002). Albanians are concentrated in the western and northern parts of the country as well as in the capital, **Skopje**. They trace their origins to the Illyrian tribes that inhabited most of the territory of the present-day state at the time of Roman conquest. Albanian scholars have pointed to the continuous presence of Albanians in the region, while their Bulgarian and Macedonian colleagues have documented waves of mass migration from the mid-18th century onward. Those population movements were often spearheaded by armed raids targeting the Slavic peasantry in regions such as **Polog** or **Kiçevo**. Across rural Macedonia, Albanians formed the landowning class and played an important role in the imperial bureaucracy in the cities.

Macedonian Albanians were influenced by the rise of the Albanian national movement at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Albanian **language** was codified at a congress held in **Bitola** (November 1908). In 1910, an Albanian insurgency against the **Ottomans** led to the capture of Skopje. The Serb rulers of the **Vardar** region in the interwar period treated local Albanians, many of whom harbored separatist sentiments, in a heavy-handed way. After the German invasion of **Yugoslavia** in April 1941, considerable sections of western Macedonia around **Tetovo**, **Gostivar**, Kiçevo, and **Struga** were incorporated into the greater Albanian state created by fascist Italy. Many Albanians supported the royalist and nationalist paramilitary groups that resisted **Josip Broz Tito's** **partisans**.

In post-1944 Macedonia, the situation of the Albanians—

recognized as a “nationality” in socialist Yugoslavia—gradually improved, although they were heavily underrepresented in the state and communist party structures. Many emigrated, in the 1950s and 1960s, to Turkey, still a magnet for Balkan Muslims. After the 1966 Brioni plenum of the **League of Communists of Yugoslavia**, state policy turned in a positive direction. The term *Šiptar*, which has derogatory connotations in both Serbo-Croat and **Macedonian**, was abandoned in favor of the more neutral *Albanec*. Over time, Yugoslav Albanian cultural institutions like the University of Prishtina, opened in 1970, as well as an increasingly prosperous **diaspora**, nurtured the growth of a new intelligentsia and middle class. Still, Albanians were not included proportionally in the public sector and the administration. The 1974 constitution defined the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as “the state of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities.” However, the reference to Albanians and **Turks** was removed in 1989 as a result of a nationalist backlash. Macedonian Albanians rallied in support of their kinsmen in **Kosovo** when they demanded the status of a republic within Yugoslavia.

After independence, Albanians mobilized to claim a greater share in political and social life. They voted overwhelmingly in favor of territorial autonomy in an unofficial referendum in January 1992. There was an Albanian boycott of the 1994 census, declared biased by the community’s leaders. Activists opened an Albanian-language university in Mala Rečica near Tetovo, which operated without recognition by the authorities. In 1997 Macedonian police clamped down on Albanian protestors demanding the official use of national symbols in public spaces.

Macedonian Albanians organized themselves into two main parties: the **Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)**, including members of the communist-era establishment, and the **Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)**, which called for recognition of the Albanians as a second constituent nation within the new state. Both parties were included in various governing coalitions. In 1998 the DPA, led by **Arben Xhaferi**, joined the right-wing **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)** in a coalition replacing the one between the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia** and the PDP. Despite the inclusion of the Albanians in political life, intereth-

nic relations were never easy. Macedonia saw an influx of Albanians from neighboring Kosovo, particularly during the 1999 conflict. For nationalist Macedonians, this posed a threat of changing the demographic picture of the country. The fragility of the situation became apparent with the outbreak of violence in the spring and summer of 2001, pitting the Albanian guerrillas of the **National Liberation Army** against the government security forces.

The conflict was ended after diplomatic intervention by the **European Union** and the **United States**. The result was the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**, which introduced a complex power-sharing arrangement. It heralded the rise of the **Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)**, the party of former paramilitary chief **Ali Ahmeti**, which replaced Arben Xhaferi's DPA as the Albanians' representative in the government. The implementation of the agreement has given Albanian-dominated municipalities a large measure of self-rule, even in sensitive areas like policing. In 2004 Albanian was recognized as an official language in the Skopje municipality. After the elections in July 2006 the DPA, which won fewer Albanian votes than the DUI and its coalition partner the PDP, was invited by the IMRO-DPMNU to join its government, which provoked mass protests in some Albanian-populated areas. *See also* ISLAM.

ALEKSANDROV POPORUŠEV, TODOR (1881–1924). Leader of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** in the interwar period and one of the most influential political figures from Macedonia, known among his supporters as “Stario” (the Old Man) or “Uncle Todor.” Aleksandrov was born in Novo Selo, a suburb of **Štip**. He was recruited into the IM(A)RO by **Hristo Matov** as a teacher in Štip. Arrested by the Ottoman police in March 1903, Aleksandrov was sentenced to five years of solitary confinement. Amnestied in the following year, he emerged as a leader in the wake of the **Young Turk Revolution** and joined the organization's Central Committee in 1911. Aleksandrov was among the initiators of the renewed armed activities in 1909 and organized a series of dynamite attacks against the Ottoman authorities in Macedonia. Having taken part in the **Balkan Wars** as a military commander, in 1915 he orchestrated the guerrilla attacks against Serb forces at the Udovo railway station (near Valandovo), which was instrumental for **Bulgaria's**

involvement in **World War I** on the side of the Central Powers led by Germany. In 1917, Aleksandrov, serving as an officer in the Bulgarian army, commanded the violent suppression of the uprising in Bulgarian-occupied Morava Valley in **Serbia** by Macedonian paramilitaries. In 1919 he was apprehended together with General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** by the **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski** government as a war criminal but managed to escape.

Aleksandrov resuscitated the IMRO, and established firm control over **Pirin Macedonia**, turning it into a base for incursions into the eastern parts of Serb-held Macedonia. After 1920 he personally commanded a series of guerrilla offensives that attracted a great deal of coverage in the Western press, putting the **Macedonian Question** on the international agenda. Aleksandrov sought to capture the moment and established a network of émigré organizations in Bulgaria and overseas devoted to propagating the cause of freeing Macedonia from Serbian and Greek control. He came to blows with Bulgarian Prime Minister Stambolijski, keen to improve relations with **Yugoslavia**. Aleksandrov challenged the government by ordering the assassination of the minister of war, Aleksandŭr Dimitrov (1878–1921), as well as the temporary occupation of the border towns of Nevrokop and Kjustendil. The campaign led to the utter defeat of the rival **federalist** bands supported by the Stambolijski cabinet. Later on Aleksandrov supported the Military League's coup against the Agrarian Union in June 1923. One of Aleksandrov's men, the Skopje-born Veličko Veljanov-Čičeto, is believed to have been the murderer of Stambolijski.

Disenchanted with the new government, Aleksandrov turned for support to the Soviet Union. His representative **Dimitar Vlahov** negotiated with representatives of the Comintern in Vienna. The outcome was the **May Manifesto**, pledging joint action against all Balkan states with the goal of creating an independent Macedonia. As the Comintern published the manifesto, Aleksandrov disavowed it, claiming his letter of authorization had been forged. The crisis, however, mobilized Aleksandrov's enemies within the IMRO and the government in **Sofia**. Aleksandrov was assassinated in August 1924 by rivals inside the IMRO, while crossing the Pirin Mountain. *See also* MIHAJLOV, IVAN.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BC). The most eminent ruler of Ancient **Macedon**, son of **Philip II**. During his campaigns against the Persians and the kingdoms in Bactria, Sogdiana, and the Indus Valley, Alexander conquered extensive territories spanning from the Balkans into central Asia. The figure of Alexander has been of high emotional significance not only to Greek nationalism in Macedonia but also to some Macedonian Slavs. The popularity of Alexander peaked with the Greek-Macedonian conflict in the 1990s, which focused on, among other things, the issue of who has a better claim to the legacy of Macedon. In Macedonia, Alexander has also been appropriated by certain nationalist writers and activists rejecting the Slavic ethnic pedigree of the Macedonians. In December 2006, **Nikola Gruevski**'s government named the airport in **Skopje** after Alexander, causing tensions in relations with **Greece**. *See also* ANCIENT MACEDONIANS.

ALITI, ABDURAHMAN (1941–). Macedonian Albanian politician born in Želino, near **Tetovo**. Aliti was the leader of the **Party for Democratic Prosperity**. In 1991–1994, he served as deputy speaker of the Macedonian parliament and in 2005 was appointed ambassador to **Bulgaria**. *See also* HALILI, NEVZAT; IMERI, IMER.

ALIU, ALI (1934–). Leading Albanian literary critic and scholar from former **Yugoslavia**, born in the village of Krani near Resen. Schooled in **Bitola** and **Skopje**, Aliu graduated with a degree in Albanian **literature** from the University of **Belgrade**. In the period 1959–1969, he edited the Albanian-language daily *Flaka e Vëllazërimit* (Flame of Brotherhood), based in Skopje. Accused of spreading ethnic unrest through his columns discussing the Albanian demonstrations in **Tetovo**, Aliu relocated to neighboring **Kosovo** and found employment in the local paper *Rilindja* (Renaissance). In 1974, he obtained a doctorate from the newly inaugurated Prishtina University. Aliu taught at the university and authored a great number of books dealing with Albanian **language** and literature. He was expelled from his post in 1990 by Slobodan Milošević's regime. In 1996, Aliu was elected to the underground Academy of Sciences and Arts in Kosovo. In the late 1990s he settled in Tetovo and began

working at the multilingual Southeastern European University in the town. *See also* EDUCATION.

ANCIENT MACEDONIANS. Conglomerate of tribes that during antiquity populated present-day Greek Macedonia and the southernmost areas of the Republic of Macedonia. Though the ancient Macedonian language has survived only in a few fragments, it is considered by some a likely relative of neighboring Thracian and Illyrian dialects. Another school relates it to the Doric dialects of Ancient Greek. While the Ancient Macedonians were considered barbarians by their Greek neighbors beyond the Olympus, by the end of the 5th century BC, the native aristocracy was substantially Hellenized and exposed to the influence of the city-states in the south and their colonies. Ancient Macedonians were the core of the Kingdom of **Macedon**, which reached the peak of its might under **Alexander the Great** in the 4th century. Defeated by Rome, Ancient Macedonians subsequently vanished in the empire's melting pot, with their language replaced by Greek.

In the latter part of the 20th century, Slavic Macedonian and Greek nationalists, especially in the **diaspora**, have vied for the heritage of Ancient Macedonians, each claiming to be their rightful ethnic heirs. As a rule, mainstream historiography in Yugoslav Macedonia was cautious, arguing that the link with present-day Macedonians was, at best, indirect. Since independence, however, extreme writers and publications have rejected completely the notion of Slavic origins in an attempt to establish a continuum between the modern nation and the glorious times of Alexander and **Philip II**. *See also* GREECE; STAR OF VERGINA.

ANDONOV, METODIJA “ČENTO” (1902–1957). Macedonian politician, the first president of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM)**. A spirits merchant and restaurant owner from the town of **Prilep**, Andonov was active as an opposition politician in the 1930s, and in 1935 and 1938 ran in the parliamentary elections. Between 1939 and 1941, he was twice imprisoned by the Yugoslav authorities for his part in organizing **Ilinden** commemorations, escaping narrowly an execution in April 1941. After the incorporation of **Vardar Macedonia** into **Bulgaria**,

Andonov was sent to prison camp by Bulgarian authorities for his communist sympathies. After his release, in October 1943, he joined the **partisans** in the Italian-occupied western Macedonia, influenced by his fellow townsman **Kuzman Josifovski-Pitu**.

A political figure popular across the **Vardar** region, Andonov headed the convening committee of the ASNOM that proclaimed the establishment of a Macedonian republic within federal **Yugoslavia**. Andonov invited pro-Bulgarian activists linked with **Ivan Mihajlov's Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, such as **Jordan Čkatrov**.

As early as 1944, a conflict developed with the communist leaders **Lazar Koliševski** and **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo**, who disapproved of Andonov's line in favor of greater independence for the new republic. He was supported by other notable activists such as **Panko Brašnarov**, **Petre Piruze**, **Venko Markovski**, and even **Kiro Gligorov**. The Koliševski line prevailed. In April 1945 Andonov became the speaker of the Popular Assembly (*Narodno sobranie*) of the People's Republic of Macedonia, a position of no substantial political power, and was later elected to the Yugoslav Federal Assembly. Andonov was forced to resign in March 1946. After a public speech in Pilep calling for Macedonia's secession from Yugoslavia, he was arrested and sentenced to 11 years in prison on fabricated charges of attempted escape to **Greece**. The arrest led to disturbances: in the town of Resen, police reportedly killed 37 pro-Andonov protesters. Between 1948 and 1950, cells of Čento's supporters organized the so-called IMRO-Pravda (IMRO-Truth), which was soon destroyed by the Yugoslav secret police. Andonov was rehabilitated only in 1991 to become once more a national symbol for all those who advocated Macedonia's independence from Belgrade.

ANDOV, STOJAN (1935–). High-profile politician and public figure. Born in Kavadarci, Andov held several high-ranking jobs in the federal government in **Belgrade** in the 1970s and 1980s, including ambassador to Iraq (1987–1991). At the first multiparty elections in **Yugoslavia** in 1990, he headed the Macedonian branch of Ante Marković's Union of Reformist Forces (*Savez reformskih snaga*). After Macedonia's independence, Andov established the Reformist Forces of Macedonia-Liberal Party, later renamed Liberal Party, which to-

gether with **Petar Gošev**'s democrats formed the **Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)** between 1997 and 1999. Andov served as a parliamentary speaker twice in 1991–1996 and 2000–2002, and was a caretaker president after the attack against **Kiro Gligorov** on 3 October 1995. He ran unsuccessfully for the office in the presidential elections four years later. Following his failure to make it into the second round, in December 1999, his supporters split from the LDP to establish the Liberal Party of Macedonia, which ran together with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** in the 2002 general elections. In 2007, again as a member of parliament, Andov initiated a lustration law to bar collaborators of the former communist secret services from public offices. At the early elections in June 2008, the liberals coalesced with the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**, and Andov was elected a member of parliament from the fifth constituency covering **Bitola, Ohrid, Struga, and Kičevo**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

ANDREEV, BANE (1905–1980). Communist functionary, republican leader in Yugoslav Macedonia. Born in **Veles**, Andreev joined the Yugoslav communists in the early 1920s as a student in **Belgrade**. He was persecuted and imprisoned on a number of occasions by the Yugoslav authorities. After **Metodi Šatorov**'s dismissal in the autumn of 1941, he headed the Provincial Committee of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in **Vardar Macedonia** until his arrest by the Bulgarian authorities in the spring of 1942. In 1944, Andreev took part in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** and served as minister of mining in the Yugoslav federal government. During the **Cominform** crisis Andreev was dismissed from all party and government posts and spent the rest of his life in obscurity. Andreev fell from grace with **Josip Broz Tito** partly because of his friendship with the Croatian communist Andrija Hebrang, one of the most high-profile victims of the purges. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA.

ANDREEVSKI, PETRE (1934–2006). Eminent writer and intellectual. Andreevski was born in the village of Sloeštica near Demir Hisar. He worked at the **Skopje** TV, later Macedonian TV, and the

Macedonian Writers' Association, which he chaired from 1983 onward. Andreevski was also a member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. His oeuvre includes a great number of poems, short stories, and novels. Andreevski explores the tangled history of **Vardar Macedonia**. *Pirej* (Weed), published in 1980, is set during **World War I**, while the 1997 *Poslednite selani* (The Last Peasants) tells the story of the disintegration of rural society in the latter part of the 20th century. *See also* LITERATURE.

ANTIFASCIST ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION OF MACEDONIA (*ANTIFAŠISTIČKO SOBRANIE NA NARODNOTO OSLOBODUVANJE NA MAKEDONIJA*, ASNOM). A body set up by the communist **partisans** in the summer of 1944. Its first session took place at the St. Prohor of Pčinja monastery (*Sveti Prohor Pčinski*, nowadays in **Serbia**) on 2 August, the anniversary of the **Ilinden Uprising**. The location was chosen by **Mihajlo Apostolski**, the chief of the partisans' headquarters. Yugoslav Macedonian historiography named the event as the Second Ilinden. The continuity was symbolized by the presence of **Panko Brašnarov**, an old **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** cadre, as deputy head of the presidium. The assembly was attended by 115 deputies, many of whom had not been elected but represented local communist groups. Though some prominent members, such as the presidium's chairman **Metodija Andonov-Čento**, did not belong to the **Communist Party of Macedonia**, the real power rested with the partisans controlled by **Josip Broz Tito's** envoy **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo**. The ASNOM became operational only in December 1944 when it held its second session in **Skopje**, recently vacated by the *Wehrmacht*.

The ASNOM had considerable symbolic significance in terms of the nation- and state-building process in the **Vardar** region. The session at the St. Prohor of Pčinja monastery proclaimed the establishment of a Macedonian republic in the framework of federal **Yugoslavia**, with the ASNOM as its supreme legislative and executive body. It also adopted a resolution on the Macedonian literary language. A manifesto adopted on 4 August stipulated that the new republic would also incorporate the parts of geographic Macedonia

under **Greece** and **Bulgaria** (*see* AEGEAN MACEDONIA; PIRIN MACEDONIA).

The ASNOM's second session was held in December 1944, after the withdrawal of German forces from Skopje. The body transformed itself into a republican parliament in April 1945. In the years to come, ASNOM leaders such as Panko Brašnarov and Metodija Andonov-Čento were persecuted as nationalists, agents of the **Cominform** and disloyal to the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** and Tito. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

ANTIFASCIST COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA (*ANTIFAŠISTIČKO V(I)JEĆE NARODNOG OSLOBODJENJA JUGOSLAVIJE*, AVNOJ). A platform dominated by the Yugoslav communists that was established in November 1942 to administer the **partisan**-held territories in Bosnia. The second session in the Bosnian town of Jajce a year later declared the establishment of federal **Yugoslavia** with Macedonia as one of the constituent republics. Though several well-known figures such as **Bane Andrejev**, **Lazar Koliševski**, **Mara Naceva**, **Metodija Andonov-Čento**, **Mihajlo Apostolski**, **Vladimir Poptomov**, and **Dimitar Vlahov**, the latter two representing **Pirin** and **Aegean Macedonia**, were listed in AVNOJ's presidium, none of them or the 35 regular representatives were at the session. The resolutions at AVNOJ's second session paved the way to the convening of similar assemblies at the level of republics, including the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**, which was convened on 2 August 1944. *See also* WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA.

APOSTOLSKI, MIHAJLO (1906–1987). Prominent politician, military leader, and historian. Born in Novo Selo near **Štip**. Apostolski was educated at a military school. He served as an officer in the Yugoslav army, reaching the rank of a major at the time of the Nazi invasion of **Yugoslavia** in the spring of 1941. Bulgarian sources point out that Apostolski was released from a German prisoners' camp thanks to an intervention by the Ministry of Defense in **Sofia**, which had been petitioned by his father, Mite Apostolov, a **World War I** veteran of the Bulgarian army. Later, however, he joined the communist **partisans** and headed their headquarters. In 1943, Apostolski

was nominated as Macedonian representative in the **Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia's** second session and took part in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. After the war he pursued a high-profile career with the Yugoslav People's Army, serving as deputy head of its General Staff, commander of the Sarajevo districts, and director of the military academy.

After retiring in 1958, Apostolski conducted historical research on the Yugoslav partisan movement during **World War II**. He was later accused of exaggerating the intensity of the communist resistance in the **Vardar** region. A member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** since the very start, Apostolski became its director in 1983. He was also head of the **Institute for National History** between 1965 and 1970, as well as editor-in-chief of the three-volume *History of the Macedonian People* published in 1969. In 1995 the newly founded military academy in **Skopje** was named after him. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

ARIFI, TEUTA (1969–). Macedonian Albanian politician. Born in **Tetovo**, Arifi obtained a Ph.D. in philology. She taught Albanian **literature** at **Skopje** University as well as at the Southeast European University in her native town. Arifi was also an adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, specializing in international human rights organizations. Elected to the Macedonian parliament in 2002 as part of the **Democratic Union for Integration**, she headed the foreign relations committee until 2006. She has been the party's vice president since its establishment in 2002.

ARMED FORCES. Macedonia's armed forces were officially established on 14 February 1992, six months after the proclamation of independence. By April 1992, they assumed control over the republic's borders and military bases as the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) withdrew into **Serbia**, following the agreement negotiated by president **Kiro Gligorov** and General Blagoje Adžić, the commander-in-chief of the federal force. It was also at that time that the Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM), headed by General-Major Mitre Arsovski, drafted its first conscripts.

The ARM claims a long tradition. In 1993, it chose as its official

holiday 18 August, the date when the **Mirče Acev** battalion was created back in 1943 (see PARTISAN MOVEMENT). In the 1990s, however, Macedonia's armed forces had very inadequate capabilities. In the federal setting, the republics maintained their own territorial-defense structures (*Teritorijalna odbrana*), constituting the second tier of the Yugoslav strategic setup. The Socialist Republic of Macedonia's territorial defense in 1969 involved 74,000 personnel and was run by a local headquarters. This was hardly a solid basis to build upon. During their relocation, the YPA troops took away most of the military hardware and heavy weaponry. Furthermore, despite the proportional representation principle, only a few Macedonians had occupied top positions in the YPA echelons, so the pool of experienced officers to draw on was very limited. This condition necessitated the deployment of international civilian and military observers along the republic's borders in order to prevent a spillover of the conflicts raging at the time in other parts of former **Yugoslavia** (see UNITED NATIONS PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT FORCE).

The ARM gradually upgraded its capacity, in no small measure thanks to the support of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. However, it was effectively challenged by the ethnic Albanian **National Liberation Army (NLA)** during the conflict in 2001. The ARM troops, 20,000 strong, had an upper hand in terms of heavy weaponry, especially tanks and the Soviet-designed Mi-24 helicopter gunships piloted by Ukrainians, and were reinforced by police paramilitary units (e.g., the Lions established by Minister of Interior **Ljube Boškovski**, drawing on a list of 7,000 reservists). However, the NLA guerrillas maintained control over the mountain villages near **Tetovo** and **Kumanovo** and appeared near **Skopje** in June 2001.

Following the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** (August 2001), the army implemented reforms aimed at securing Macedonia's membership in NATO, charted in the Membership Action Plan of 1999. As in the case of the police, one of the chief preoccupations of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, more **Albanians** were promoted to higher positions. There have also been several Albanian deputy ministers of defense. Reforms also involved restructuring the ARM into a more compact, mobile, and better resourced force. This entailed a decrease of personnel numbers to some 7,700 and the early retirement of officers. To comply with the NATO requirements, the ARM has also

passed its border control duties to the specialized police units. In October 2006, conscription was abolished and the ARM was fully professionalized. Yet, as in other transition countries, there are concerns over corruption in the military. In July 2007, Metodi Stamboliski, former chief of staff, was arrested on allegations of public-funds embezzlement worth \$2.5 million in connection with military procurement contracts.

Since the mid-1990s, the ARM has been part of a number of NATO exercises, initiatives, and operations. It is a founding party to the Multinational Peace Force in Southeast Europe, established through a regional agreement signed in Skopje (26 September 1998). More than 100 Macedonian infantrymen were deployed after 2002 as part of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. In 2003, Macedonia also sent troops to the **United States**-led contingent in Iraq.

AROMANIANS. *See* VLACHS.

ARSOV, LJUPČO (1910–1986). Macedonian communist leader born in **Štip**. He was one of the main figures in the **partisan movement** in **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II** and secretary of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia's** presidium. Later Arsov served as speaker of the republican assembly and president of the presidium.

ART. Macedonia's art traditions reflect its rich and multifaceted historical legacy. This is observable in the **Byzantine** frescoes in its medieval churches and monasteries, including some fine examples of the Paleologue renaissance to be found in the historic town of **Ohrid**. There are also famous portraits of monarchs and noblemen from the 14th and 15th centuries preserved in the monasteries of Staro Nagoričane, Lesnovo, Matejče, and Varoš (**Prilep**). As elsewhere in the Balkans, **Ottoman** rule left its mark too. It is seen in the magnificent mosques and public buildings in **Skopje**, **Bitola**, and other localities, lushly decorated with painted tiles and stucco details, many of which date back to the classical period of Ottoman art (15th–18th centuries). Yet another strand is represented by folk arts and crafts that

thrived in the 19th century with the revitalization of urban centers (*see* URBANIZATION).

The boundary between sacred and profane art was fuzzy. Areas such as **Reka** were famous for their itinerant fresco painters and wood-carvers, whose *iconostases* can still be seen across the region, for instance in the Our Lady Monastery near **Kičevo**, as well as in other parts of the Balkans. Woodwork and frescoes also decorated the homes of well-to-do townsfolk of all creeds and ethnicities in a number of Macedonian settlements. Drawing on the rich Ottoman traditions, local craftsmen also specialized in decorative arts producing fine textiles, jewelery, *kilims*, pottery, and metalwork.

The processes of gradual Westernization bred new tastes and fashions. They were already visible in the work of fresco painters (*zographs*) in **Vardar Macedonia**, such as Dimitar Andonov Papradiški (1859–1954), but took root in the 1930s when a generation of artists including **Lazar Ličenoski**, **Nikola Martinoski**, Vangel Kodžoman (1904–1994), and the sculptor Dimo Todorovski (1910–1983) experimented with contemporary styles such as expressionism. These painters spent long periods of their careers outside Macedonia: in **Belgrade**, Zagreb, and assorted western European capitals. Others, such as Dimitar Pandilov (1898–1963), worked in **emigration in Bulgaria**. They all drew inspiration from the natural landscapes and rural life in Macedonia.

With the establishment of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia after **World War II**, art was institutionalized. The 1930s generation was involved in the establishment of a specialized school, the Association of Visual Artists (1947), as well as an art gallery in Skopje (1949). In 1970, the Museum of Contemporary Art was opened, built with donations following the Skopje earthquake seven years before. The period saw the development of genres such as sculpture, represented by Tome Serafimovski (1935–); graphic art; scenography; design; and art photography. Macedonia turned into a popular location for colonies of artists from **Yugoslavia** and abroad. After the 1950s, local artists were able to gradually move away from the dogmas of socialist realism that defined the immediate postwar years. Yet art was intimately linked to politics. It played a significant role in the nation-building process, developing and propagating themes such as the struggle against Ottoman domination prior to the **Balkan Wars**

and the **partisan** movement during **World War II**. *See also* CINEMA; LITERATURE; MUSIC.

ATANASOV, FILIP (?–1956). Leader of the **federalist** faction within the Macedonian movement after **World War I**. Atanasov was a founding member of the **Macedonian Emigrant Federative Organization** in 1921. In 1925, Atanasov participated in the establishment of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** in Vienna and cooperated with the Soviet intelligence service. Atanasov died in Moscow in 1956. *See also* VLAHOV, DIMITAR.

AUTONOMISTS. Supporters of the right-wing **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** headed by **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** in the early 1920s. The term refers to the slogan of autonomous Macedonia. Autonomists were opposed to the left-wing faction of the **Federalists**.

AZOT. Mountainous area in southwest **Veles** along the Babuna River. A number of villages in the area were renowned for their pro-Serb sympathies during the armed struggles between the **Serb Committee for Četnik Action** and the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**, which had its local supporters too. From 1941 to 1944, Azot was one of the bases of the communist **partisans**. *See also* POREČE.

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BABUNSKI, JOVAN STOJKOVIĆ (1875–1920). Serb paramilitary *vojvoda* (commander) born in Martolci near **Veles**. After studies in **Belgrade**, Valjevo, and Niš, Babunski worked as a Serbian teacher in **Tetovo**, **Veles**, and his native area of **Azot**. He became one of the leaders of the Serb nationalist cause and fought the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**, whose guerrillas murdered his brother and nephew in 1905. Babunski was in the ranks of the Serbian army during the **Balkan Wars** and at the **Salonica** front in **World War I**. After the war, Babunski commanded a force of 250, assisting Serb authorities to put down local resistance in the

areas of **Bitola**, **Tikveš**, and in the eastern districts. *See also* SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION.

BADEV, ATANAS (1860–1908). Notable musicologist and ethnographer. A native of **Prilep**, Badev was a longtime teacher in the Bulgarian **Exarchist** schools. He is credited with collecting and studying a great number of folk songs from Macedonia. *See also* FOLKLORE; MUSIC.

BADEV, JORDAN (1888–1944). Publicist, literary critic, and **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist born in **Bitola**. After studies in **Sofia** and Lausanne, Badev worked as a teacher in both **Bulgaria** and Macedonia. After **World War I** he emerged as one of the leading Macedonian figures in **Sofia**, contributing articles to major periodicals such as the daily *Zora* edited by **Danail Krapčev**. Close to **Todor Aleksandrov**, Badev was appointed, after the leader's murder, to the IMRO's Foreign Representation and was stationed in Paris. He authored a number of propaganda pamphlets. Later he sided with the faction of **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** and opposed **Ivan Mihajlov**. Due to his pro-German sympathies, Badev was killed by the Bulgarian communists in September 1944.

BADEV, NIKOLA (1918–1976). Popular singer, an iconic figure of the folk scene in Yugoslav Macedonia. Born in Glišnik near Kavadarci, Badev recorded hundreds of folk songs for Radio Skopje, popular in all parts of geographic Macedonia, the **diaspora**, and **Bulgaria**. *See also* FOLKLORE; MUSIC.

BALKAN COMMUNIST FEDERATION. Umbrella organization established in **Sofia** by the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, and Greek communist parties in 1920. Following the Comintern policy of co-opting “national liberation movements” into the cause of spreading communism, it called for the establishment of a Balkan federation, with Macedonia as one of the constituent republics. The **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** joined the association in 1926. From 1924 to 1932, the organization published *Fédération Balkanique*, edited by **Dimitar Vlahov** and Nikola Harla-

kov. *See also* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY; COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA; MAY MANIFESTO.

BALKAN WARS (1912–1913). Military conflict that ended Ottoman rule in Macedonia. The First Balkan War started on 5 October 1912 and was fought by the forces of the Balkan Alliance, a coalition established by **Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece,** and Montenegro, against the **Ottoman Empire**. A secret annex to the alliance treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia divided Macedonia into two zones: an “undisputed” one in the south and the east to be added to Bulgaria and a “disputed” one in the north and the west to be adjudicated in the postwar settlement, possibly through mediation by the Russian tsar. As the Bulgarian troops were concentrated in the Thracian theater, for the most part, both zones were conquered by the Serbian army, which defeated the Ottoman troops at **Kumanovo** and **Prilep**. Their advance, assisted by **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** and Serb paramilitary units, met south of **Bitola** with the Greek forces that had taken **Salonica** on 26 October 1912. Meanwhile the Bulgarian army had occupied the eastern parts of today’s Republic of Macedonia. The war ended with the Treaty of London of 17 May 1913.

This was followed by the Second Balkan War, which broke out in June after the Bulgarians launched simultaneous attacks against Serb and Greek positions. The fateful decision was driven by the hope to make larger territorial gains in **Vardar** and **Aegean Macedonia**. The offensive ended in a failure, and the Bulgarians were pushed back into a retreat. Though they subsequently managed to reverse the Serb and Greek advance, they soon sued for peace when Romania and Turkey entered the war. The Second Balkan War led to the **Treaty of Bucharest**, signed on 10 August. *See also* WORLD WAR I.

BALLI KOMBËTAR (NATIONAL FRONT). Albanian nationalist organization established in the autumn of 1942 with the help of the Italian authorities in **Albania** proper and western Macedonia. Balli Kombëtar was also present in the Albanian villages in the **Kumanovo** region. It drew support from northern Albanian notables, nationalist intellectuals, and, in Macedonia, from some local Muslim clerics. The military center of the organization in Macedonia was in

the town of **Gostivar**. Balli Kombëtar activists were well represented in the Albanian authorities in western Macedonia. Their network survived after the capitulation of Italy in September 1943. Balli Kombëtar forces, some 15,000 in **Vardar Macedonia** according to Yugoslav Macedonian historians, fought against Albanian and Yugoslav **partisans** and aimed at creating a Greater Albania. Balli Kombëtar, which was popular among Macedonian **Albanians**, is blamed for a number of atrocities against Slavic civilians in the districts under Italian occupation. It also collaborated with the Nazi forces. After the end of 1944, Balli Kombëtar was active mainly in **Kosovo**. Later many members and supporters of Balli Kombëtar were killed or persecuted by the communist authorities in **Yugoslavia**. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

BASIL II THE BULGARSLAYER (VASILIOS B' VOULGAROK-TONOS) (958–1025). Byzantine emperor (976–1025) from the **Macedonian Dynasty**. Basil fought long wars against the tsardom of **Samuel**, seen by Yugoslav Macedonian historians as a state of the Macedonian Slavs. Basil's forces won the battle of Kleidion (Ključ) in the mountain of Belasica in 1014 and were said to have blinded nearly 15,000 prisoners, leaving one one-eyed for every 100. This earned him the sobriquet "the Bulgarslayer." The story's accuracy is nowadays disputed, but it was widely instrumentalized by both Greek and Bulgarian nationalists in Macedonia from the mid-19th century onward. By 1018 Basil restored **Byzantium's** power over what is today the Republic of Macedonia, ushering in a period of stability. In 1018 Basil established the **Ohrid Archbishopric**, an autonomous body under the Patriarch of Constantinople, which certain historians see as a continuation of the Bulgarian Patriarchate within Samuel's tsardom.

BATANDŽIEV, HRISTO (1868–1913). Macedonian activist born in Igoumenitsa (Gümençe in Turkish), nowadays in **Greece**. He was one of the founders of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** and worked as a teacher at the Bulgarian High School in **Salonica** and as an **Exarchist** official. After the **Young Turk Revolution** in 1908, Batandžiev joined the Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs, a party established by the IMRO's central-

ist wing. He was murdered by the Greek authorities in June 1913 together with Archimandrite Eulogius, a leader of the Bulgarian Exarchist community in Salonica. *See also* DIMITROV, ANDON; GRUEV, DAMJAN; POPARSOV, PETŪR; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

BAŽDAROV, GEORGI (1881–1929). Activist born in Gorno Brodi near Serres, nowadays in **Greece**. Baždarov joined the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** while studying at the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica** to become a schoolteacher. After being a band member for some time, in 1908, he returned to the Salonica High School as a history teacher. In the interwar period, Baždarov was one of the leaders of the Macedonian community in **Bulgaria**, founder of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute**, and a member of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**'s Foreign Representation. He was killed at the orders of **Ivan Mihajlov** as a supporter of General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**'s faction. *See also* PROTOGEROVISTS.

BELGRADE. The capital of **Serbia** and later **Yugoslavia**. Since the 19th century, Belgrade attracted labor migrants from Macedonia. These migrations were a channel for the spread of the modern Serb national idea in the area. After the 1880s, Belgrade was a center of a number of political and cultural institutions propagating the irredentism toward Macedonia and **Kosovo** (*see* ST. SAVA SOCIETY). After 1918 Belgrade was a major educational, cultural, and economic focal point for the new elites in **Vardar Macedonia**. In the communist period, high-ranking **Skopje** politicians such as **Kiro Gligorov** or **Lazar Mojsov** pursued careers at the federal institutions based in Belgrade. Belgrade was also the destination for professional and working-class Macedonians. Belgrade print publications, radio, and TV programs were widely available and very popular across Yugoslav Macedonia. *See also* SOFIA.

BERLIN, TREATY OF. Peace treaty that ended the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878. The treaty was concluded by the **Ottoman Empire**, Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. It was signed at the end of the Congress of Berlin convened in June 1878 under the auspices of the German chancellor Otto von Bis-

marck. Revising the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano concluded by Russia and the Ottoman Empire in March, the new treaty, signed on 13 July, restored Ottoman suzerainty over Macedonia and southern Thrace (the *vilâyet* of **Adrianople**), but its Article 23 called for the implementation of self-government reforms in those provinces. This clause was later used by the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** in its campaign against the Ottoman authorities. *See also* KRESNA UPRISING.

BEROVSKI, DIMITÛR POPGEORGIEV (1840–1907). Political activist and band leader. Born in Berovo, eastern Macedonia, Berovski studied at the Odessa seminary and in the early 1860s moved to **Belgrade** to join the Bulgarian Legion formed by Georgi Stojkov Rakovski. There he finished the local military school and worked as an officer in the Serbian army. In 1865 Berovski returned to Berovo, where he organized in 1876 an armed insurgency against the **Ottoman** authorities. In the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878, his detachments aided the Russian forces. Berovski directed the headquarters of the **Kresna Uprising** in 1878–1879. Later Berovski settled in **Bulgaria**, where he was involved in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**.

BITOLA. City in the southwestern part of the Republic of Macedonia. It has a population of 74,550 inhabitants, according to the 2002 census. Nearly 90 percent are Macedonians, but there are also several-thousands-strong **Roma** and **Albanian** communities.

The name *Bitola* derives from the Slavic *obitelj* (abode), which is the equivalent of its Greek version *monastiri* (monastery), rendered in Turkish as *manastır*. After **Salonica**, Bitola was the second most important commercial and administrative hub during the **Ottoman** period and a center of a vast *vilâyet* encompassing also territories in present-day Albania and **Greece**. Bitola's most distinctive element within the town population, numbering some 50,000 at the end of the 19th century, was the **Vlachs** (7,000). Most of them fully embraced Hellenism, making Bitola an outpost of Greek culture in the mainly Slavic hinterland, though many sided with the Romanian cultural institutions in the town. Bitola also had substantial Muslim (ca. 11,000, **Turks**, Roma, and Albanians) and Jewish communities (5,200). The

Slavic population was divided between the **Bulgarian Exarchate** (ca. 8,000) and the **Constantinople Patriarchate** (6,300).

Bitola was therefore at the forefront of the nationalist struggles in Macedonia, with all communities fighting to establish a foothold and seeking favors from the great power consulates in the city. Many of the hostilities during the **Ilinden Uprising** took place in the vicinity of Bitola, though the city itself was not affected. It was in Bitola where Albanian political activists decided in 1908 to adopt the Latin script as the national alphabet. The same year, the riot of the local garrison led to the outbreak of the **Young Turk Revolution**.

After the **Balkan Wars** Bitola lost much of its former significance. The times of the consuls, fondly remembered by the locals to this very day, were gone. Its Hellenized bourgeoisie left for Greece in great numbers. Bitola and its surroundings were badly affected by the confrontation between the Entente forces and the German and Bulgarian armies during **World War I**. Conquered by the Bulgarians in October 1915, the city was taken back by Russian infantry and Serbian cavalry in November 1916. As the new front line was set in the nearby mountains, Bitola came under constant artillery fire and was even subjected to poison-gas attacks by the Germans. Part of the population left; more than 1,000 **Jews** sought refuge in Salonica in 1917, while some of their coreligionists even headed for New York.

Bitola revived during the interwar decades. Yet as **Vardar Macedonia's** politics, commerce, and social life turned northward, rather than toward Salonica in the south as it used to be under the Ottomans, **Skopje** emerged as the province's new hub. During **World War II**, Bitola also lost its entire Jewish population, deported by the Bulgarian authorities and the Germans to the death camps of Central Europe in 1943. For their part, the majority of Muslims had left for Turkey in the preceding decades. Those Vlachs who remained in the city were gradually assimilated into the Slavic Macedonian majority. During the communist period, the city experienced industrial development and **urbanization**. Though over time, it lost its place as the second most important center in the country to **Kumanovo** and **Tetovo**, Bitola benefited from the establishment of local cultural institutions, such as a university named after **St. Clement of Ohrid** and a film festival dedicated to the **Manaki** brothers.

BITOSKI, KRSTE (1920–). Eminent historian born in Gabreš near Castoria/Kostur. A longtime researcher at the **Institute for National History**, Bitoski has published extensively on the history of **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

BLAGOEV, DIMITÛR (1871–1924). Bulgarian politician, party leader, and early Balkan socialist. Born in Zagoričani near Castoria/Kostur, Blagoev studied in Russia, where he was exposed to socialist influences. After returning to **Bulgaria** he was among the founders of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party in 1891. He led the party's "narrow faction" from which the **Bulgarian Communist Party** emerged in 1919. Party activists referred to him as "Dedo" (Grandfather). Blagoev supported the idea of a Balkan federation and opposed Bulgaria's participation in **World War I** on the side of the Central Powers. He also occasionally identified himself as a Macedonian Slav. In 1950, the town of Gorna Džumaja, a regional center in **Pirin Macedonia**, was renamed Blagoevgrad in Blagoev's honor. *See also* DIMITROV, GEORGI.

BLED AGREEMENTS. Preliminary agreements concluded in July 1947 by **Josip Broz Tito** and **Georgi Dimitrov** on the creation of the federal state with enlarged Macedonia as one of the constituent republics. Supportive of the project, Dimitrov nonetheless rejected the Yugoslav proposal for unification of **Vardar** and **Pirin Macedonia** even prior to the establishment of the federation. *See also* COM-INFORM.

BOGOEV, KSENTE (1913–2008). Eminent scholar born in Leunovo near **Gostivar**. Bogoev published widely in the field of economics and economic history. He also headed the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** from 1991 to 1999, having served as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia's prime minister from 1968 to 1974 and as the governor of the People's Bank of Yugoslavia.

BOGOMILISM. Medieval dualistic heresy originating from the Balkans that incorporated ideas borrowed from Manichaeism and Gnosticism. Bogomilism reflected the teachings of Father Bogomil (or

Bogumil), a 10th-century cleric whom some link to the Babuna Mountain in central Macedonia. Bogomilism spread in **Bulgaria**, **Serbia**, and **Byzantium** and is thought to have influenced later heretical movements in western Europe, such as the Cathars, the Waldensians, and the Lollards. Whether the medieval Church of Bosnia followed the Bogomil doctrine remains a subject of historical controversy. Bogomilism has also been interpreted as driven by the Macedonian Slavs' sense of ethnic separateness, though there is little evidence to back that claim. *See also* RELIGION.

BORIS I, PRINCE (852–889). Bulgarian ruler who converted his country to Christianity in 864, changing his title from the pagan “khan” to “prince” (*knjaz*). Boris is credited with establishing a center of Slavic learning in **Ohrid**, where he sent his emissaries **St. Clement**, considered by some the father of the Cyrillic script, and **St. Naum**. *See also* SIMEON I THE GREAT.

BOŠKOVSKI, LJUBE (1960–). Politician and public figure revered by Macedonian nationalists. Born in Čelopek near **Tetovo**, Boškovski was trained as a lawyer. He also served as an **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** representative in Croatia, where he operated his private business. Boškovski was a high-ranking official in **Ljubčo Georgievski**'s government from 1998 to 2002. As head of the police, he took a hard-line stance during the 2001 conflict with the Albanian **National Liberation Army**. Boškovski, known among his associates as Brother Ljube, was also in charge of several special operations units involved in the armed hostilities. In 2004 he was arrested in Croatia and subsequently transferred to the International Criminal Tribunal for former **Yugoslavia** (ICTY) in The Hague, indicted with the murder of ethnic Albanian civilians in the village of Ljuboten in August 2001. Boškovski's case became a *cause célèbre* for Macedonian nationalists opposing the West's alleged collusion with the Albanian radicals of the NLA against the “defenders of the homeland.” Following his acquittal on 11 July 2008, he was given a hero's welcome in **Skopje**. The ICTY sentenced to 12 years in prison his codefendant, the former police commander Jovan “Johan” Tarčulovski. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

BOŠKOVSKI, TRAJKO (1918–1943). Communist activist, one of the first **partisans** in **Vardar Macedonia**. Known as “Tarcan” or “Tarzan,” Boškovski joined the youth branch of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1935, while working in **Belgrade**. He was one of the organizers of the attacks against the Bulgarian police station, post office, and prison in **Prilep** on 11 October 1941. Boškovski was killed near **Veles** by the Bulgarian counterinsurgent forces in 1943.

BRAILSFORD, HENRY NOEL (1873–1959). British left-wing publicist, writer, and political campaigner. Brailsford led the British Relief Mission in Macedonia in 1903 and 1904, after the suppression of the **Ilinden Uprising**. In 1906 he published *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future*, an exceptionally valuable document on the social and political conditions in the region. From 1913 to 1914, Brailsford was a member of the commission investigating the **Balkan Wars** established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and also coauthored the final report. He contributed articles on Macedonia to the *Manchester Guardian* and also broadcast for the BBC. In the autumn of 1950, Brailsford visited Yugoslav Macedonia at the invitation of **Lazar Koliševski** and wrote articles celebrating the achievements of the communist authorities.

BRAŠNAR(OV), PANKO (1883–1951). Political activist. Hailing from **Veles**, Brašnarov (sometimes appearing as Brašnar) was for many years an **Exarchist** teacher. He took part in the **Ilinden Uprising** and in the 1920s was one of the leading members of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** in Serb-held Macedonia, for which he was imprisoned for seven years. In 1943, Brašnarov joined the **partisan movement**, and as an Ilinden veteran and renowned communist, he chaired the first session of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** on 2 August 1944. Later, however, he fell out with the Titoist leadership of the **Communist Party of Macedonia**, due to his autonomist leanings and support for the **Cominform** resolution. Brašnarov was arrested in 1948 and sent to the Goli Otok camp in the Adriatic, where he died in 1951. *See also* ANDONOV, METODIJA “ČENTO”; ŠATEV, PAVEL.

BUCHAREST, TREATY OF. Peace treaty concluded on 10 August 1913 following the Second **Balkan War**. It cemented the partition of geographic Macedonia by **Greece**, **Serbia**, and **Bulgaria**. The territories gained by Serbia (25,713 square kilometers, 39 percent of the total) formed the basis of present-day Republic of Macedonia. Seen as unjust, the Bucharest Treaty motivated Bulgaria to ally with Germany and Austria-Hungary during **World War I**. The territorial status quo established in Bucharest, however, has survived largely intact until this very day.

BUČKOVSKI, VLADO (1962–). Macedonian politician from the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**. A professor of Roman Law at **Skopje** University, Bučkovski served as minister of defense (May–November 2001, November 2002–December 2004) and prime minister (December 2004–August 2006). He was also the leader of the social democrats during the term of his government, but he was forced to resign after the loss in the parliamentary elections in 2006. Earlier in the year, Buckovski had backed the idea to have joint celebrations of the **Ilinden Uprising**, together with **Bulgaria**. In 2007, he was prosecuted on charges of corruption involving supplies for the Macedonian army. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, BRANKO; KOSTOV, HARI; ŠEKERINSKA, RADMILA.

BULGARIA. Macedonia has a tangled relationship with Bulgaria, which was the first country to recognize Macedonia's independence in January 1992. It is complicated by Bulgaria's refusal to acknowledge the existence of a separate Macedonian national **language** as well as a Macedonian minority in **Pirin Macedonia**. The disputes date back to the 1960s, when the **Bulgarian Communist Party** reversed its policy on the **Macedonian Question** and claimed that historically the Slavs of Macedonia were of Bulgarian stock. While successive governments in Sofia supported Macedonia, especially by lobbying for its recognition as president Želju Želez did successfully during his meeting with Russian president Boris Yeltsin in August 1992, or by providing access to Black Sea ports during the economic blockade imposed by **Greece**, the "language dispute" prevented the two neighbors from signing a set of cooperation agreements in the economic and social field.

The breakthrough came in February 1999 when Macedonian prime minister **Ljubčo Georgievski**, on a visit to **Sofia**, issued a joint declaration with his counterpart, Ivan Kostov. Macedonia and Bulgaria declared neither had territorial claims vis-à-vis the other and adopted a compromise formula to circumvent the language dispute. Rather than referring to “Bulgarian” and “Macedonian,” treaties now mention the “constitutional languages” of both countries. Bulgaria also granted Macedonia military aid and later backed Georgievski, both politically and with military supplies, in the 2001 conflict with the **National Liberation Army**.

The shared orientation toward the **European Union (EU)** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, which Bulgaria joined in 2007 and 2004 respectively, also improved political and economic relations. Economic exchange grew: in 2006, Bulgaria was Macedonia’s fourth most important trade partner, 6.2 percent of the total (302 million euro). Bulgaria’s entry into the EU prompted thousands of Macedonians to apply for Bulgarian citizenship in order to travel freely within the union. This development, together with the publications by popular nationalist historians in Sofia such as Božidar Dimitrov, has raised concerns in the **Skopje** media about renewed Bulgarian expansionism. Calls for joint commemorations of historical figures and events such as the **Ilinden Uprising** have been, on the whole, futile, though in March 2008 Bulgarian president Georgi Pŭrvanov laid a wreath at **Jane Sandanski**’s monument in Melnik together with his Macedonian counterpart, **Branko Crvenkovski**. Meanwhile entrepreneurs and students settled in Bulgaria, choosing to benefit from privileges extended to “ethnic Bulgarians.”

Cross-border trips for tourism and business surged as well after the late 1990s, up to 700,000 in 2006, though the visa regime imposed due to Bulgaria’s accession to the EU in 2007 led to a decline. That bilateral relationship is based on pragmatism is proven by the fact that, despite occasional hints in that direction, Bulgaria has thus far not attempted to veto Macedonia’s integration in NATO and the EU over emotionally charged issues of history and national identity. *See also* ALBANIA; FOREIGN POLICY; GREECE; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; SERBIA.

BULGARIAN ACTION COMMITTEES. Network of self-government bodies organized by pro-Bulgarian activists across **Vardar**

Macedonia after the invasion of **Yugoslavia** by the Axis forces in April 1941. The network was directed by a Central Committee presided over by Stefan Stefanov, an attorney, and included Vasil Hadžikimov (1903–1992), a former cadre of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**; Spiro Kitinčev (1895–1946), mayor of **Skopje** from 1941 to 1944; and Krum Organdžiev, among others. With the arrival of the Bulgarian administrative and military authorities in Vardar Macedonia in May 1941, the Action Committees were abolished, while their newspaper, *Macedonia*, was replaced by *Celokupna Bulgarija* (Integral Bulgaria). Still, many of the activists were swiftly reemployed in the new administrative structures of the province. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BCP; BŬLGARSKA KOMUNISTIČESKA PARTIJA). Political party established in 1919 based on the “narrow” faction of the Social Democrats (*see* BLAGOEV, DIMITŬR). From 1946 to 1990 it was the ruling party in **Bulgaria**. It was succeeded by the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Throughout its history, the BCP took a keen interest in the **Macedonian Question**. Most left-wing Macedonian activists also belonged to its ranks. It played a key part in the establishment of the **Balkan Communist Federation** in 1920 and of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** in 1925, which acted as its subsidiary. In the interwar decades, BCP, known since 1926 as Workers Party or Bulgarian Workers Party (Communists), stood for the establishment of a Balkan federation with Macedonia as one of the constituent republics. In the 1930s, it also adopted the position that Macedonian Slavs constituted a separate ethnic group, which was popularized by party activists from the region and BCP-oriented publications (*see* IVANOVSKI, VASIL). After the annexation of **Vardar Macedonia** in 1941, the BCP clashed with the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** over the affiliation of the local communists. The latter won the debate in Moscow, and the pro-Bulgarian communists in Vardar Macedonia lost power to a new generation loyal to Belgrade.

After the war, the BCP’s leader, **Georgi Dimitrov**, and **Josip Broz Tito** negotiated on the creation of a South Slavic federation including an entity comprising both Vardar and **Pirin Macedonia**, and possibly

Greek Macedonia as well (*see* BLED AGREEMENTS). The BCP conducted a full-blown campaign for the promotion of a Macedonian identity and **language** in the Pirin area and the Macedonian **diaspora** in the big cities, criticized by historiographers as illegitimate and marred by coercion from the late 1960s onward. The plans failed after the **Cominform** crisis in 1948. While it opposed the “revisionism” of Skopje and Belgrade, or of “the Tito-[**Lazar**] **Koliševski**’s clique,” the BCP continued with its policy of “Macedonization” up until the 1960s, when it turned to the pre-1944 Bulgarian nationalism. The party encouraged historical research demonstrating the Bulgarian ethnicity of the Macedonian Slavs and denied Yugoslav claims that Pirin Macedonia was home to a non-Bulgarian minority. The controversy lasted into the 1970s and 1980s, setting the background for the bilateral relations between Sofia and Skopje after 1991. *See also* ŽIVKOV, TODOR.

BULGARIAN EXARCHATE. National-religious institution established in 1870 by the **Ottoman** Sultan Abdülaziz and abolished in 1953 with the creation of the Bulgarian Patriarchate. Based in Constantinople, by the **Balkan Wars**, the Bulgarian Exarchate had metropolitans in **Ohrid**, **Bitola**, **Skopje**, **Debar**, **Strumica**, **Veles**, and **Nevrokop** (today’s Goce Delčev in **Bulgaria**) as well as representatives in the bishoprics of Castoria/Kostur, Florina/Lerin, Voden (today’s Edhessa), **Salonica**, Kilkis, Serres, Melnik, Drama, and **Adrianople**. It also established a wide network of schools and other cultural institutions across Macedonia and the *vilâyet* of Adrianople. The exarchate attracted Macedonian Slavs in huge numbers from its rival the ecumenical **Patriarchate of Constantinople**, as demonstrated by the plebiscites in the districts of Skopje and Ohrid in 1874.

Bulgarian historiography credits the exarchate with the consolidation of the national consciousness of the local Slavs in Macedonia and Thrace, a majority of whom chose its jurisdiction. By contrast, (post-)Yugoslav Macedonian authors regard it as an agent of forceful propaganda and assimilation. While the exarchate did have a crucial role in shaping national affiliations, its partisans were often local people rather than “outsiders” from Bulgaria. The overwhelming majority of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activists celebrated nowadays in both

Skopje and **Sofia** belonged to the exarchate and were often employed in its educational network throughout the Ottoman provinces. Exarch Joseph I and the clergy nevertheless opposed the radical methods of the organization. Indeed, because of the **Ilinden Uprising**, the Bulgarian Exarchate's position was eroded. Villages came under pressure from Greek and Serb bands, backed by the Constantinople Patriarchate's episcopate, and the Serbian Church based in **Belgrade** (autocephalous since 1879) switched sides. In return, the IMARO campaigned to return those to the exarchate.

The exarchate's network in **Vardar Macedonia** was destroyed after the **Balkan Wars** when both its clergy and many representatives of the **Exarchist** intelligentsia sought refuge in Bulgaria. Its legacy lasted in the interwar period but waned with the coming of age of a new generation that had not been through its school system. *See also* EDUCATION; MILLET.

BUNEVA, MARA (1901–1928). Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization operative. Born in **Tetovo**, Buneva joined the organization when her family settled in **Sofia** after **World War I**. She relocated to **Skopje** in 1926. In January 1928, Buneva assassinated by the **Vardar** River Vladimir Prelić, a lawyer at the local district directorate involved in the so-called Student Trial in 1927 (*see* MACEDONIAN YOUTH SECRET REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION). She committed suicide and was celebrated in **Bulgaria** and the diaspora as a martyr for Macedonia's liberation. Sentenced to oblivion after 1944, the memory of Buneva resurfaced again in the 1990s, starting off a major controversy in Macedonia due to her pro-Bulgarian, **Mihajlovist** sympathies. At the center of the public battles are the commemorative plaque in downtown Skopje as well as the annual commemorations attended by activists from Bulgaria and Bulgarophile Macedonians. Activists from the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** and anticommunist historians like Zoran Todorovski have embraced Buneva as a Macedonian national hero. *See also* ČERNOZEMSKI, VLADO; REVISIONIST HISTORIANS.

BYZANTIUM. Term used since the 19th century with reference to the Eastern Roman Empire. For extensive periods of time, Byzantium

dominated both the **Vardar** region and geographic Macedonia as a whole. Its influence continued in the medieval Bulgarian and Serbian states as well as during the rule of the semi-independent feudal lords in the Vardar alley, all of whom emulated Byzantium's cultural models and political institutions (*see* SIMEON I THE GREAT; DUŠAN THE MIGHTY). The city of **Salonica**, the administrative and commercial crossroads of the area, remained the second most important Byzantine center until its capture by the **Ottomans** in 1430. Byzantium's legacy is also manifest in the prevalence of Orthodox Christianity as the religion of most Macedonian Slavs and also of some minorities such as the **Vlachs**.

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ČAKALAROV, VASIL (1872–1913). Prominent **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** commander. Hailing from the village of Smürdeš (today Kristalopigi), Čakalarov, also appearing as Čekalarov, was one of the leaders of the **Ilinden Uprising** in his native district of Castoria/Kostur and a fierce opponent of the Greek armed bands infiltrating the area after 1903. He died in a skirmish with the Greek military during the Second **Balkan War**. *See also* KARAVANGELIS, GERMANOS; MELAS, PAVLOS.

ČALOVSKA, LILJANA (1920–1997). Communist functionary. Born in **Sofia** to a family hailing from **Bitola**, Čalovska joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1940 as a student in **Belgrade**. During the Bulgarian annexation of Macedonia, she was one of the leaders of the **partisan** resistance in Bitola. She was a member of the **Communist Party of Macedonia's** Central Committee and a delegate to the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. Married to the Macedonian communist leader **Lazar Koliševski**, she served several mandates in the republican and federal assemblies in postwar **Yugoslavia**.

CAPIDAN, THEODOR (1879–1953). Romanian academic, specialist in southeast European ethnography and linguistics. Coming from a

Prilep Vlach family, Capidan received his secondary education in Bucharest. He later obtained a doctorate from Leipzig University, where he worked under the supervision of the leading Balkanologist **Gustav Weigand**, an authority on Vlach ethnography. From 1902 to 1919 Capidan taught Romanian in **Salonica**, and from 1924 to 1937 at the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár in Transylvania. In 1925 he was elected to the Romanian Academy of Sciences. Capidan published extensively on the Romance dialects spoken south of the Danube, including **Aromanian**, Megleno-Romanian, and Istroromanian (found in the Istrian Peninsula in the north Adriatic), as well as on Vlach **folklore** and ethnography. *See also* LANGUAGE.

ČAŠULE, KOLE (NIKOLA KEPEV) (1921–). Renowned intellectual, writer, diplomat, and politician. Čašule was born in **Prilep** to a well-known **Exarchist** family. His father, Ilija Kepev, was the director of the Bulgarian High School until 1918. After studying medicine in **Belgrade** together with his fellow townsman **Blaže Koneski**, Čašule took part in the **partisan movement** from 1941 to 1944, including the attack against the Bulgarian police station in his native city on 11 October 1941. Čašule authored a number of dramas, collections of poems, and short stories, including *Crnila* (Darkness), a fictional account of the 1921 assassination of **Gjorče Petrov**, a colleague of his father at the Prilep school. He also served as a Yugoslav diplomat in Canada and Latin America, playing a key role in spreading Yugoslav Macedonia's influence among the large **diaspora** from **Aegean Macedonia**. After Macedonia's independence, his active part in the trial against **Metodija Andonov-Čento** in 1946 and the persecution of **Venko Markovski** became a matter of public controversy. *See also* ČAŠULE, SLOBODAN; LITERATURE.

ČAŠULE, SLOBODAN (1945–). Macedonian politician and intellectual, son of **Kole Čašule**. From the mid-1960s, Čašule worked as a journalist at TV **Skopje**, the Yugoslav information agency (TANJUG), and the Macedonian Radio. In 1998, he joined the **Democratic Alternative (DA)**. After falling out with the DA's leader, **Vasil Tupurkovski**, he served as foreign minister in the cabinet of **Ljubčo Georgievski** (2001–2002). In 2002, Čašule was elected to the Macedonian parliament on the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Or-**

ganization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU) ticket. In 2004, Čašule joined the IMRO-People's Party faction within the IMRO-DPMNU, loyal to Ljubčo Georgievski.

ČAULE(V), PETŮR (1880–1924). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** leader born in **Ohrid** to a family of Orthodox Albanian origin. Čaulev was sworn into the organization in the 1890s as an **Exarchist** teacher. He headed a revolutionary committee in his native town during the **Ilinden Uprising** and in 1911 was elected to the Central Committee together with **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Hristo Černopeev**. In the fall of 1913 Čaulev led the armed rebellion against the Serb forces around **Ohrid** and **Debar**. He played a significant part in the reestablishment of the organization after **World War I** and was one of the signatories of the **May Manifesto** in 1924. Čaulev was gunned down in Milan in December 1924 by an IMRO assassin due to his suspected involvement in the murder of Todor Aleksandrov. *See also* ŠANDANOV, PETŮR.

ČEMERSKI, ANGEL “JANUŠ” (1923–2005). Macedonian communist leader. Born in Kavadarci, Čemerski was active in the **partisan movement** in 1943 and 1944. After the end of **World War II** he served in various top executive and party posts in Yugoslav Macedonia. In the period 1969 to 1982, Čemerski headed the **League of Communists of Macedonia**. His term in office marked the return to power of the party's conservative wing loyal to **Lazar Koliševski**. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, KRSTE.

CEPENKOV, MARKO (1829–1920). Folklore collector and educator born in **Prilep**. Cepenkov studied under **Rajko Žinzifov** and **Dimitri Miladinov**, who inspired his interest in folklore. He is known for the extensive collection of songs, tales, sayings, oaths, and customs gathered over a period of 40 years. The material was published by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education in 1889 and 1900 in several volumes. Cepenkov also authored poems, songs, a play, and an autobiography. He was involved in the struggles in his native city against the **Constantinople Patriarchate**. Cepenkov died in **Sofia**, bequeathing his archive to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. In

1950, the republican authorities in Yugoslav Macedonia established an institute for the study of **folklore** named after him as part of Skopje University.

ČERNODRINSKI, VOJDAN (1875–1951). Playwright celebrated as one of the pioneers of Macedonian drama. Born in Selci in the **Debar** region, Černodrinski is credited with his play *Macedonian Bloody Wedding*, written in a Macedonian dialect and performed for the first time in **Sofia** in 1900. The story reflects the Slavic peasants' struggles against their Muslim overlords. It was filmed in 1967 in Yugoslav Macedonia. Černodrinski was an officer with the Bulgarian army in the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**. In the interwar period, he was active in the Macedonian organizations in Sofia. His plays were popular in **Bulgaria** and the **diaspora** in North America. *See also* LITERATURE; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

ČERNOPEEV, HRISTO (1868–1915). Famous commander of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**, political activist, and parliamentarian. Černopeev was born in the village of Dermanci in northern **Bulgaria**. His original name was Černjo Peev, and he was a sergeant (*Feldwebel*) in the Bulgarian army. He was brought into the IMARO in 1899 by **Goce Delčev** and **Boris Sarafov**. Černopeev was one of the organizers in the kidnapping of the American missionary Ellen “Miss” Stone in 1901, and during the **Ilinden Uprising**, which he initially opposed, was in charge of the **Strumica** district. Together with **Jane Sandanski** and **Dimo Hadžidimov**, Černopeev headed the left wing in the IMARO, participated in the **Young Turk Revolution**, and was a leading member of the People's Federative Party (*see* FEDERALISTS). In 1909, however, he fell out with Sandanski and relaunched guerrilla operations against the **Ottoman** government. He was elected in 1911 as a member of the IMARO's Central Committee, together with **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Petūr Čaulev**.

Černopeev's paramilitaries fought side by side with the Bulgarian army in the **Balkan Wars**. From 1913 to 1915, he was twice elected a member of the Bulgarian parliament from the Strumica district. Černopeev was killed in the battle between Bulgarian and French forces

at Krivolak (near **Prilep**) in November 1915 (*see* WORLD WAR I). He was buried in Novo Selo, a suburb of **Štip**.

ČERNOZEMSKI, VLADO "THE CHAUFFEUR" (1897–1934).

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) operative. Černozemski was born as Veličko Georgiev Kerin in Kamenica, the region of Čepino in south **Bulgaria**, to a family coming from **Pirin Macedonia**. He joined the IMRO in 1922 and was assigned by **Ivan Mihajlov** to carry out a number of assassinations, including that of the prominent left-winger **Dimo Hadžidimov** and **Naum Tomalevski**, member of the **Protogerovist** wing within the IMRO. On 9 October 1934 he shot in Marseilles King **Aleksandar Karadjordjević** of **Yugoslavia** and French foreign minister Louis Barthou (there are suspicions that the latter was killed by a bullet fired by a policeman). The assassination was most likely organized by the Croat nationalist *Ustaše*, supported by its allies such as Benito Mussolini's Italy. Seriously wounded, Černozemski died a few hours after the attack. *See also* BUNEVA, MARA; CICONKOV, JORDAN.

ČETA. Armed guerrilla unit. The word is common in South Slavic **languages** as well as in Turkish (*çete*). The *četa* represented a basic operative unit within the structure of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. Each *četa* was led by a captain (*vojvoda*) and secretary. In the narrower Yugoslav context, *četnik* (member of *četa*) has come to be associated mainly with the Serb right-wing resistance movement during **World War II** and the paramilitaries involved in the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s. Serbian *četniks* of the 1940s traced their origins to the Serbian bands operating in Macedonia and **Kosovo** before the **Balkan Wars**, irrespective of the fact that the original *četnik* leader Kosta Pećanac (1879–1944) was executed in 1944 on the orders of General Dragoljub "Draža" Mihailović (1893–1946), the commander-in-chief of the Yugoslav royalist forces. In that period, *četniks* were present in some areas of **Vardar Macedonia** with strong pro-Serb sympathies such as **Azot**, **Poreče**, and the **Kumanovo** region. *See also* KOMITA; SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION.

CHRISTOWE (HRISTOV), STOYAN (1897–1995). American author and politician, originally from **Aegean Macedonia**. Christowe,

who was born in the village of Konomladi (near Castoria/Kostur), came to the United States in 1910. He published a number of fiction works dealing with the life and social conditions in Macedonia and life in the **diaspora**, including *Heroes and Assassins* (1935), praising the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** and its leaders **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Ivan Mihajlov**; *This Is My Country* (1938); *My American Pilgrimage* (1947); and *The Eagle and the Stork: An American Memoir* (1976). After 1944, Christowe served for 12 years in the state legislature of Vermont. He visited Yugoslav Macedonia in 1980 and was granted an honorary doctorate from the University of **Skopje**. In 1986 Christowe was elected a member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. *See also* LITERATURE.

CICONKOV, JORDAN (1901–1926). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist from **Štip**. In August 1923, at the orders of **Todor Aleksandrov**, he assassinated in Prague the leading Bulgarian Agrarian politician, **Rajko Daskalov** (1886–1923), one of the chief adversaries of the IMRO in the government of **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski**. *See also* ČERNOZEMSKI, VLADO.

CIKLEV, GLIGOR (?–1941). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** commander. Originally a supporter of **Todor Aleksandrov**, Ciklev joined his **federalist** rivals in 1922. In 1923, he crossed into Serb Macedonia and took part in the establishment of the paramilitary organization *Udruženje Protiv Bugarskih Bandita* (Association against Bulgarian Bandits). Its units were deployed by the authorities against the IMRO in the districts bordering **Bulgaria**. After the Bulgarian annexation of **Vardar Macedonia** in 1941, Ciklev was arrested, transferred to Kjustendil in Bulgaria, and murdered. *See also* KALAMATIJEVIĆ, MIHAILO.

CINEMA. Although the first movie theater opened in **Veles** as early as 1923, Macedonian cinema developed only in the decades following **World War II**. The industry celebrates the **Manaki** brothers as its founding fathers, naming after them the film festival in **Bitola** inaugurated in 1979. Yet the first **Macedonian-language** film, *Frosina*, appeared in 1952, produced by the newly established Vardar Films.

Scripted by **Vlado Maleski** and directed by Vojislav Nanović, the film followed in the footsteps of a number of documentaries commissioned by the communist authorities portraying the economic, political, and cultural developments in the republic at a time when socialist **Yugoslavia** was emerging from the ashes of the war.

Cinema became a powerful instrument of nation-building and political mobilization. The nation's past, marked in equal measure by traumas and a desire for emancipation, remained a *Leitmotif* theme throughout the Yugoslav period, with titles such as *Wolf's Night* (1955); *Miss Stone* (1958); *The Salonica Assassins* (1961; see GEM-IDŽII); *Darkness* (1965; see PETROV, GJORČE); *Macedonian Blood Wedding* (1967; see ČERNODRINSKI, VOJDAN); *Republic in Flames* (1969; see ILINDEN UPRISING); *Black Seed* (1971; see GREEK CIVIL WAR); *A Shot* (1972); and *The Macedonian Part of Hell* (1972). These pictures, often shot by directors from other Yugoslav republics, explored themes such as the **partisan movement**, the anti-**Ottoman** struggles, and the **Greek Civil War**. Occasionally authors tried other genres too: the first Macedonian comedy, *Peaceful Summer*, appeared in 1961 under the directorship of Dimitrie Osmanli, who also produced, in 1967, *Memento*, a tale of the 1963 **Skopje** earthquake.

A new generation came of age in the 1980s, represented by directors such as **Stojan "Stole" Popov**. From the heroic past, the focus shifted to individual drama and the dilemmas of modern life. Macedonian cinema gained international recognition in 1994 with **Milčo Mančevski's** film *Before the Rain*, a tale of doomed love amid a communal conflict between Slavs and **Albanians** in rural Macedonia. Its release came at the height of the war in Bosnia and struck a note with the international audience, which led to an Oscar nomination. The picture opened the door for a new wave of talented filmmakers including Ivo Trajkov, whose *Great Water* (2004) revisited the political repressions of the late 1940s through the eyes of an orphaned boy, and the artistic trio Labina, Teona, and Vuk Mitevski (*How I Killed a Saint*, 2004; *I Am from Titov Veles*, 2007). See also ART; LITERATURE; MUSIC.

ČINGO, ŽIVKO (1936–1987). Celebrated writer. Born in Velgošti near **Ohrid**, Čingo worked at various periodicals in **Skopje** and was

also the director of the Macedonian People's Theater. He was noted for the short stories he published over the course of the 1950s and 1960s that made him the leading representative of his generation. Čingo's acclaimed novel *Golemata voda* (The Great Water), which came out in 1971, dealt with the traumatic memories of the late 1940s and the communist regime in **Yugoslavia**. Its publication coincided with the relative liberalization under **Krste Crvenkovski**. An award-winning film based on the novel, directed by Ivo Trajkov, was released in 2004. *See also* CINEMA; LITERATURE.

CIRIVIRI, VERA "TRENA" (1921–1944). Prominent communist, member of the **partisan movement**. Born in **Prilep**, Ciriviri joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in **Belgrade**, where her family lived during the interwar period. There she was part of a group of young communists from the **Vardar** region, including **Borka Taleski**, **Mirče Acev**, and **Kuzman Josifovski-Pitu**, all born in or linked to Prilep. Returning to Macedonia in 1939, Ciriviri was active in the communist resistance movement against the Bulgarian authorities between 1941 and 1944. She was one of the organizers of the attack against the Prilep police department on 11 October 1941. Ciriviri traveled around **Vardar Macedonia** building secret communist cells. She committed suicide in July 1944 in **Štip** in order not to be captured by the Bulgarian police.

ČKATROV, DIMITŮR (1900–1946). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist born in **Prilep**, brother of **Jordan Čkatrov**. As a student, Čkatrov was a member of the **Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization**. He was sentenced for antistate activities at the **Skopje** student trial in 1927 and served 10 years in prison. Together with **DimitŮr Gjuzelov**, he was the leader of the IMRO groups operating in **Vardar Macedonia** after 1941. Close to the Bulgarian authorities, Čkatrov was sentenced to death on charges of collaboration in 1945 and executed the following year.

ČKATROV, JORDAN (1898–1946). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist, political leader, and publicist. Born in **Prilep**, Čkatrov settled in **Bulgaria** after **World War I**.

He studied law at the University of **Sofia**, where he met **Ivan Mihajlov** and **Kiril Drangov**. On Mihajlov's recommendation, **Todor Aleksandrov** sent Čkatrov to the **United States** in 1924 to set up the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO) representing the Bulgaro-Macedonian **diaspora**. In 1927 Čkatrov was also the first editor-in-chief of the MPO newspaper *Makedonska tribuna* (Macedonian Tribune). He contributed articles on the plight of Serbian and Greek Macedonia to the Bulgarian daily *Zora*, edited by the Prilep-born **Danail Krapčev**, as well as to leading English-language newspapers such as *New York Times* and *Manchester Guardian*. Čkatrov returned to **Bulgaria** in 1927 and acted as the IMRO's liaison with foreign diplomatic services and the diaspora. He was also among the organizers of the Great Macedonian Convention in Gorna Džumaja (present-day Blagoevgrad) in February 1933, a forum that voiced the IMRO's stance in favor of an independent Macedonian state.

In the early 1940s, Čkatrov quarreled with Mihajlov after the latter voiced his disapproval of Macedonia's annexation by Bulgaria. He settled in **Skopje** in 1943 to work as an attorney and, on a number of occasions, provided legal aid to local communists persecuted by the Bulgarian authorities. In the summer of 1944, Čkatrov entered into negotiations on behalf of the IMRO groups with the autonomist faction within the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM)** headed by **Metodija Andonov-Čento**. Čento and his supporters were, at least at the time the ASNOM was convened, willing to give the **Mihajlovists** a stake in the emerging Macedonian republic. However, in the course of 1945, the pro-Yugoslavs around **Lazar Koliševski** gained the upper hand. Čkatrov was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for "collaborating with the occupier." He died in the Skopje prison in November 1946 as a result of a hunger strike following the execution of his brother **Dimitŭr Čkatrov**. *See also* GJUZELOV, DIMITŬR.

CLEMENT OF OHRID, SAINT (ca. 840–916). Medieval cleric, political figure, and educator. Clement was one of the disciples of **St. Cyril** and **St. Methodius** who followed them from the Balkans into Great Moravia and Panonia. In 886 he found refuge together with **St. Naum** and St. Angelarius in the Bulgarian Principedom. Shortly after their arrival, Clement and Naum were commissioned by **Prince**

Boris I of **Bulgaria** to the state's southwestern provinces known as Kutmicevica. There he established a famous school at the St. Pantelimon Monastery in **Ohrid** that spread the Slavic **language** and **education** among the local population. He was a prolific writer and is credited by some with the invention of the Cyrillic script combining the Greek alphabet and Glagolitic characters. St. Clement died in 916 and was buried in his Ohrid monastery. He was celebrated in a vita written in Greek by Theophylactus, a Byzantine archbishop of Ohrid (10th–11th centuries).

St. Clement's cult lived on. Legends associated with his persona were popular in Ohrid and its surroundings, where Clement (Kli-ment) remained a widespread masculine name. The universities of **Sofia** (established 1888) and **Bitola** (1979) are both named after St. Clement, as are the National and University Library in **Skopje** (1944) and the Bulgarian station in the Livingston Island in Antarctica. In 1990, the city cathedral in Skopje was inaugurated, which has the saint as its patron. St. Clement's feast on 8 December is traditionally celebrated in Bulgaria as the student day. It was proclaimed a national holiday in the Republic of Macedonia in 2007 by the government of **Nikola Gruevski**. *See also* SIMEON I THE GREAT.

COMINFORM (COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU). Organization established by the Soviet communists in September 1947 during a conference in Poland. It succeeded the Comintern, dissolved in 1943. The Cominform undertook to coordinate the communist parties in Eastern Europe, France, and Italy in the face of the Western bloc's consolidation, spearheaded by the Marshall Plan. The organization was originally based in **Belgrade**, but the split between **Josip Broz Tito** and Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) in June 1948 led to **Yugoslavia's** expulsion. In Yugoslavia, the crisis resulted in purges against local communists siding with the Soviet line, many of whom were sent to the infamous camp in the Adriatic island of Goli Otok (present-day Croatia). Among the persecuted were high-profile Macedonian communists such as **Venko Markovski**, **Panko Brašnarov**, and **Pavel Šatev**, who opposed Tito and in some cases collaborated with the Soviet diplomatic and security services. The Cominform crisis destroyed the plans for a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation and the formal unification of **Pirin** and **Vardar Macedonia**. *See also* BLED

AGREEMENTS; BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY; COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS (*İTTİHAT VE TERAKKI CEMİYETİ*). *See* YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA (*KOMUNISTIČKA PARTIJA NA MAKEDONIJA*), **LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF MACEDONIA (*SOJUZ NA KOMUNISTITE NA MAKEDONIJA*)**. **Political party** established by the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** on 19 March 1943 at a meeting in **Tetovo**, then in the Italian occupation zone, on the basis of the preexisting Provincial Committee (*Pokrajinski komitet*). This came at the initiative of **Josip Broz Tito** and his envoy **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo** in order to gain wider support within Macedonia. The first Central Committee included **Kuzman Josifovski-Pitu**, **Bane Andreev**, **Cvetko Uzunovski-Abaz**, **Strahil Gigov**, **Mara Naceva** (secretary), and **Lazar Koliševski** (chairman). Koliševski and Naceva were absent, as the former was imprisoned and the latter interned in **Bulgaria**. The first congress was held only in 1948. In June 1943, the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPM) issued a manifesto calling for unity of all Macedonians, regardless of their hitherto national sympathies.

After 1944, the CPM was the main political actor in the newly created People's Republic of Macedonia. Its cadres, rising from about 400 from 1941–1943 to 6,000 in 1945 and 43,600 in 1954, drove forward the nation-building process in **Vardar Macedonia**. As elsewhere in the communist bloc, it was aided by affiliated mass organizations such as the United People's Front of Macedonia.

The CPM was renamed League of Communists of Macedonia (LCM) in April 1952, in line with Josip Broz Tito's new course toward self-management. Koliševski's leadership, which lasted for 20 years, is remembered as distinguished by commitment to Yugoslav centralism. Unlike other Yugoslav communist parties, the CPM adhered closely to communist orthodoxy. The only exception was in the 1960s, when power was in the hands of the liberal leadership of **Krste Crvenkovski**. By the early 1970s, however, the "dogmatic" wing came back (*see* ČEMERSKI, ANGEL). The LCM took part in the first multiparty elections in 1990 under the name of League of

Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Change (*SKM-Sojuz za demokratska preobrazba*). In 1991, the party was succeeded by the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA (*KOMUNISTIČKA PARTIJA JUGOSLAVIJE*), **LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (*SAVEZ KOMUNISTA JUGOSLAVIJE*)**. **Political party** established in 1919. Due to its opposition to the Yugoslav state's authoritarianism and the Serbianization policies carried out in the south, it gained early on support in **Vardar Macedonia**. In the 1920 elections for a Constitutive Assembly, the region accounted for nearly half of the 100,000 votes cast across the country for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). From 1937 to 1980, the party was led by **Josip Broz Tito**. It ceased to exist in 1990, when Yugoslavia started disintegrating.

After April 1941, the CPY fought a long resistance campaign against the Axis powers occupying Yugoslavia as well as against various right-wing forces such as the Serb *četniks* (see ČETA; WORLD WAR II). The party came to power when the Red Army, together with the communist partisans, drove out the German Nazi forces in the winter of 1944–1945.

In 1948 the CPY broke out from Moscow's direct control, which resulted in internal tensions and purges against pro-Soviet cadres (see COMINFORM). From the 1950s onward, it pursued a policy of self-management and growing economic decentralization at home and nonalignment in **foreign relations**. It was renamed League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), a federation of republic-based parties, at its Seventh Congress in 1952. The CPY/LCY was instrumental in the establishment of Yugoslav Macedonia as a constitutive republic, its political institutions, and the consolidation of a national culture and identity. As a result, most Macedonian communists, in contrast with those in other republics, were pro-Yugoslav and did not have strong separatist or autonomist leanings. Macedonia was, by and large, not affected by intraparty dissidence as exemplified by Milovan Djilas and others. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA.

CONČEV, IVAN (1859–1910). Leader of the **Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)**, political figure, and military

commander. Cončev was born in Drjanovo (north-central **Bulgaria**). Having fought in the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878, he graduated from the newly established Military Academy in Bulgaria. General Cončev joined the SMAC in 1895 under the influence of **Boris Sarafov**. Initially, he maintained close contacts with the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** and even met with its Central Committee in **Salonica**. After 1901, however, relations deteriorated as Cončev attempted to bring the IMARO under his direct control. After the abortive uprising in the valley of Struma in 1902, Cončev's influence began to wane. His band took part in the **Ilinden Uprising** in 1903 in the **Pirin** region, side by side with their former opponents. At the IMARO's congress in 1905 at the Rila Monastery, Cončev decided to disband the SMAC, merge it with the internal organization, and retire. *See also* JANKOV, ANASTAS; SANDANSKI, JANE.

CONSTANTINOPLE, ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF. Religious institution dating back to the 4th century. The Constantinople Patriarchate enjoys the status of first among equals relative to the other 14 autocephalous churches in Eastern Orthodoxy. This status was achieved thanks to the secular power of **Byzantium**. After the **Ottoman** conquest of the Balkans and Constantinople in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Orthodox subjects of the sultan were placed under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Patriarchate. From the mid-19th century onward, local Bulgarian and Slavophile activists in Macedonia resisted the patriarchate's authority, which they viewed as an instrument of Hellenization (*see* MACEDONIAN QUESTION).

While the Patriarchate prelates' agenda was informed by social conservatism rather than Greek nationalism, many of them were at the forefront of the struggle against the **Bulgarian Exarchate** between 1870 and 1912. Clerics such as **Germanos Karavangelis**, metropolitan of Castoria/Kostur, played a crucial role in the Greek armed struggle against the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. They were supported by Slavic peasants with pro-Greek national sentiments, dubbed *patriaršisti* or *gürko-mani* ("fanatical Greeks") by the **Exarchist** (pro-)Bulgarians who were themselves denigrated as "schismatics." In northern Macedo-

nia, the Constantinople Patriarchate was represented by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which was recognized as autocephalous in 1879. *See also* MILLET; OHRID ARCHBISHOPRIC; RELIGION.

CONSTITUTION. The constitution of the Republic of Macedonia was adopted on 17 November 1991, shortly after the independence referendum. It follows the republican constitutions of 1946 and 1974. The latter was amended in 1989 to exclude the reference to Macedonia as a state of the **Albanians** and **Turks** on an equal basis with the (Slavic) Macedonians. The original preamble defined Macedonia as “a national state of the Macedonian people” and referred to Albanians, Turks, **Vlachs**, and **Roma** as “nationalities,” following the established Yugoslav legal terminology. The preamble’s wording was changed in 2001 as a result of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**, which removed the phrase *national state* altogether. In addition, amendments made it possible that **languages** other than **Macedonian** are used in municipalities with more than 20 percent minority population, and also that a minority community may use its national symbols (in effect, the Albanian two-headed eagle **flag**).

Article 49 stipulates that the state should look after the rights of Macedonians in the neighboring countries and the **diaspora**. The latter had been a point of contention in the dispute with **Greece** in the 1990s, despite an amendment adopted in January 1992 inserting the proviso that Macedonia would not interfere in other countries’ internal affairs.

Macedonia is a parliamentary republic with a unicameral assembly and a directly elected president. The changes of 2001 marked a partial transition to a *consociational* model, as presently certain types of laws (e.g., on local self-government) can be adopted only if supported by majorities within each ethnic group in parliament. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES. Refer to appendix A.

CRVENKOVSKI, BRANKO (1962–). Leading Macedonian politician, prime minister, and president of the republic. Born in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Crvenkovski (no relation to the Yugoslav communist politician **Krste Crvenkovski**) was the leader of the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia** from 1991 to 2004. Only 29 years old, on 5 September 1992 he became Macedonia’s second

prime minister after independence. He served a second term after 1994 and between 1998 and 2002 was the leader of the opposition. After the Social Democrats' victory at the 2002 general elections, Crvenkovski formed his third government. In April 2004, after **Boris Trajkovski's** tragic death, he was elected as Macedonia's president. Crvenkovski is reputedly the most influential figure in Macedonia's politics. *See also* GLIGOROV, KIRO.

CRVENKOVSKI, KRSTE (1921–2001). Communist activist, **partisan**, senior Yugoslav politician, and dissident. Born in **Prilep**, Crvenkovski was a close relative of the Bulgarian interwar publicist, **Danail Krapčev**. He entered the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia's** youth section at the age of only 14. Crvenkovski took part in the attack against the Bulgarian police station in his native town on 11 October 1941, which marked the beginning of the communist resistance. Later Crvenkovski moved to the Italian occupation zone, and after a short imprisonment in Tirana, he became the leader of the Yugoslav communists' youth branch in **Vardar Macedonia**. In 1948 Crvenkovski was elected to the politburo of the **Communist Party of Macedonia's** Central Committee and in 1963 replaced **Lazar Koliševski** as the party leader.

In the internal struggles within the **League of Communists of Yugoslavia**, Crvenkovski sided with the liberal faction. He played a key role in the 1966 ouster of Aleksandar Ranković, the key proponent of Yugoslav centralization and head of the security services, in conjunction with the Croatian communist leadership. After 1969, he pursued a career at the federal level. After the reformist tendencies in Croatia were suppressed in 1971 by **Josip Broz Tito**, Crvenkovski and his close associate Slavko Milosavljevski lost power in Macedonia to the faction around the new party head, **Angel Čemerski**, loyal to Koliševski. After 1974 Crvenkovski disappeared from public view to return in the 1990s. He published several books containing memoirs that were highly critical of Koliševski's leadership. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, STEVO.

CRVENKOVSKI, STEVO (1947–2004). Macedonian diplomat and high-ranking official, son of **Krste Crvenkovski**. Crvenkovski was minister of foreign affairs in the mid-1990s and later served as am-

bassador in London. Crvenkovski was one of the signatories of the **Interim Accord** concluded with **Greece** in September 1995. *See also* FRČKOSKI, LJUBOMIR.

ČUCKOV, EFREM (1870–1923). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** activist from **Štip**. Čuckov was a close collaborator of **Goce Delčev** and **Dame Gruev**, fellow teachers in Štip in the 1890s. He also sat on the organization's Central Committee from 1908 to 1911. Čuckov was in charge of the IMARO's base in the Bulgarian border town of Kjustendil and at various times was a band leader in Pehčevo, Melnik, and the **Skopje** areas. *See also* ČUCKOV, EMANUIL; RAZVIGOROV, MIŠE.

ČUCKOV, EMANUIL (MANE) (1901–1967). Teacher, political activist, and Yugoslav official. Čuckov was born in **Štip** and was a relative of **Efrem Čuckov**. In the 1920s, he was part of the **Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization**. He was arrested and tortured by the Serbian police during the student trial in 1927. In the 1930s he worked as a teacher in **Serbia** and **Bosnia** but in 1941 was appointed by the Bulgarian authorities as the director of the Second Boys' High School in **Skopje**. In 1944, Čuckov joined the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**, becoming its deputy chairman and minister of agriculture. He was also a member of the delegation dispatched in June 1944 to the island of Vis in order to liaise with **Josip Broz Tito** and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia. After 1945 Čuckov was a deputy in the republican assembly, but he was later removed from his posts and finished his life as a schoolteacher. *See also* PARTISAN MOVEMENT.

ČULEV, ILIJA (1908–1950). Political activist, leading member of the anti-Yugoslav opposition in **Vardar Macedonia**. Čulev came from Kavadarci. A graduate in medicine from Zagreb, he joined the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** in 1933 and in 1938–1939 was a deputy at the Yugoslav parliament. In 1945 Dr. Čulev was among the founders of the Democratic Front "Ilinden 1903." He authored a memorandum calling for Macedonian independence under Western protection, which was presented to the British

Embassy. For this, Čulev was sentenced to 10 years and died while in prison. *See also* ANDONOV, METODIJA.

ČUPOVSKI, DIMITRIJA (1878–1940). Macedonian cultural activist, one of the early advocates for a separate Slavic Macedonian ethnic nation and **language**. Born in the village of Papradište in the **Azot** region, Čupovski was among the founders of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg in 1902. He made several unsuccessful attempts to open schools in Macedonia teaching in the local dialect (*see* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE). Between 1912 and 1914 he organized in St. Petersburg a series of Slavo-Macedonian associations and published a memorandum addressed to the London Peace Conference in 1913 and the Russian press, as well as a map of Macedonia. In 1913–1914, Čupovski published *Makedonskij golos* (Macedonian Voice), a Russian-language newspaper that opposed the partition of Macedonia (*see* BUCHAREST, TREATY OF).

While Yugoslav Macedonian historiography praised Čupovski as one of the grand figures in the rebirth (*prerodba*) of Macedonian culture and the struggle for political emancipation, Bulgarian scholars such as **Kosta Cürnušanov** dismiss him as a marginal figure on the service of the Asian Department within Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Čupovski died completely forgotten in 1940 but was rediscovered in the 1960s by **Skopje** academics like **Blaže Koneski**. His remains were taken back and buried in Macedonia in 1990. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION; MACEDONISM; MISIRKOV, KRSTE.

CÜRNUŠANOV, KOSTA (1903–1996). Political activist and writer; one of the leading authorities on the **Macedonian Question** in **Bulgaria**. Born in **Prilep**, Cürnušanov joined the **Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization** as a student in **Belgrade**. During Bulgaria's annexation of **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II**, he worked as a school inspector in the Prilep area. In the 1950s, Cürnušanov edited the Macedonian-language news program on the Bulgarian Radio. He wrote a number of polemical books and articles defending the Bulgarian character of the Macedonian Slavs, including *Macedonism and Macedonia's Struggle against It* (**Sofia**, 1992).

Čürnušanov was involved in the reestablishment of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in 1990. *See also* MACEDONISM.

ČUŠKAR, BORO (1916–1982). Communist activist and **partisan**. Born in **Kumanovo**, Čuškar was a member of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** since 1940. He took part in the communist resistance against the Bulgarian authorities in **Vardar Macedonia**. Head of the communist secret police after 1944, Čuškar was linked with the severe repressions carried out against ideological opponents. He was allegedly involved in the killing of **Dimitŭr Gjuzelov**. *See also* MILJOVSKI, KIRIL; OZNA; UZUNOVSKI, CVETKO.

CVIJIĆ, JOVAN (1865–1927). Distinguished Serbian geographer and ethnographer. Born in Loznica, Cvijić was a professor at the University of **Belgrade** and the Sorbonne in Paris, and from 1921 to 1927 presided over the Royal Serb Academy. In his work on the ethnography of South Slavs, he contended that the southern areas of geographic Macedonia were populated by a “floating mass” of nationally undefined Macedonian Slavs who were distinctive from both the **Serbs** in the districts north of **Veles** (“Old Serbia”) and the Bulgarians in the east. Cvijić highlighted the absence of a clear national consciousness in the province and the social, rather than strictly ethnic, connotations of the name “Bulgarian” (*bugar, bugarin*), meaning, in his view, Slavic-speaking peasant. These ideas were presented in *Remarks about the Ethnography of Macedonian Slavs*, published in Belgrade in 1906 and translated into several Western languages. Cvijić’s views, as well as those of the linguist Aleksandar Belić (1876–1960), were opposed by a number of Bulgarian academics, notably by the authors associated with the interwar **Macedonian Scientific Institute**. *See also* FOLKLORE; MACEDONIAN QUESTION; SERBS.

CYRIL AND METHODIUS, SAINTS (ca. 827–869 AND ca. 815–885). Byzantine brothers born in **Salonica** and credited with the creation of the Slavic alphabet. The two monks were dispatched by Photius, the Constantinople patriarch, on a number of missions, including to Great Moravia in today’s Czech and Slovak lands. To spread **Byzantium**’s ecclesiastical and political influence, they trans-

lated a number of liturgical books and parts of the Bible into the Slavic dialect of Salonica, which served as the basis of Old Church Slavonic. In Great Moravia the brothers entered into conflict with the local German clergy but successfully defended the cause of Slavic liturgy and letters before the papal authorities. Cyril died in Rome in 869, but Methodius continued his work and was appointed bishop of Great Moravia in 880. However, after his death five years later, his disciples were expelled from the country by the German clerics, and they found refuge in the newly Christianized Bulgarian Principality. Two of them, **St. Clement** and **St. Naum**, later founded the **Ohrid** literary school in the present-day Republic of Macedonia.

The cult of the two saints was embraced widely in the Slavic lands with the rise of nationalism and Panslavism in the 19th century—first by the Czechs and later by the Bulgarians, including in Macedonia. Their feast, 11 May (in the Julian calendar), was typically marked by rallies attended by the **Exarchist** communities and schools. With the emergence of Yugoslav Macedonia, the saints were claimed as prominent national figures, mainly on account of their place of birth. The University of **Skopje** (established in 1949) is named after St. Cyril and St. Methodius. In 1979, Pope John Paul II pronounced the two brothers as patron saints of Europe. *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

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DASKALOV, DOBRI (1882–1912). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist, band leader from Kavadarci. Daskalov commanded a *četa* in **Tikveš** from 1903 to 1908 and was a supporter of **Gjorče Petrov** in the IMARO's internal squabbles. He was also among the founders of the People's Federative Party (*see* **FEDERALISTS**). A **partisan** detachment named after Daskalov was active in **Tikveš** in 1943–1944.

DAVIDOV, TOMA (1863–1903). Military officer and **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** commander. Initially a member of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**, Davidov was involved in the committee's major incur-

sion into **Ottoman** territory in 1895 leading to the destruction of the large Muslim village of Dospat in the Rhodope Massif. In 1902, however, he joined the IMARO attracted by **Goce Delčev**, with whom he once studied at the Military School in **Sofia**. In a short period of time, Davidov became the organization's leader in the **Ohrid** region. He was killed in a fight with Ottoman troops in the spring of 1903.

DEBAR (ALBANIAN, *DIBËR/DIBRA*; TURKISH, *DEBRE*). 1.

Town in western Macedonia. According to the census of 2002, its population numbers 14,561, including 8,768 (60.2 percent) **Albanians**, 3,154 (21.66 percent) Macedonians, 1,315 (9.03 percent) **Turks**, and 1,079 (7.41 percent) **Roma**. The area around Debar is also inhabited by many **Torbeši** (Muslim Slavs). In the past, Debar was renowned for its itinerant masons and wood-carvers who worked across the Balkans (*see* ART). 2. Historical and ethnographic region in western Macedonia with the town of Debar at its center. After 1913, Lower Debar was included in **Albania** whereas Upper Debar remained in Serb-held Macedonia. *See also* MIJACI; REKA.

DEDOV, STEFAN JOAKIMOV (1869–1914). Political activist, journalist, and early proponent of the Macedonian Slavs' ethnonational distinctiveness. Born in **Ohrid**, Dedov studied law in **Belgrade**. He was the editor-in-chief of *Balkanski vesnik* (Balkan Herald) published in Serbian and French by a group of Macedonian expatriates in 1902. After moving to St. Petersburg, he was active in the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society led by **Dimitrija Čupovski**. Later Dedov worked as a journalist and merchant in **Sofia**, where he published pro-Bulgarian articles. Though he cooperated with some of its activists, the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** suspected Dedov of being on **Serbia's** payroll. *See also* DIMOV; AFANASIJ; MACEDONISM; MISIRKOV; KRSTE.

DELČEV, GOCE (1872–1903). Prominent **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** leader, political activist, and theoretician. Goce (diminutive from Georgi)

Delčev's myth loomed large even in his lifetime and was later enshrined by the historiographies in both Yugoslav Macedonia and **Bulgaria**. Born in Kukuš, Delčev graduated from the **Bulgarian Exarchate's** high school in **Salonica** and enrolled in the Military School in **Sofia**. He was soon expelled for spreading socialist literature. Delčev found employment as a teacher at one of the **Exarchist** schools in **Štip** where he was initiated into the IMARO in the autumn of 1894 by his colleague **Damjan Gruev**. At the organization's first congress in 1896 he was elected to the Foreign Representation in Sofia and, two years later, appointed commander of all *četas* in Macedonia and Thrace. Over the following years, Delčev traveled extensively through Macedonia and the district of **Adrianople**.

Delčev was a staunch proponent of the IMARO's autonomy from the Bulgarian government. His desire, reflected in the organization's 1896 statute that he drafted together with **Gjorče Petrov**, was to build a common front with all ethnic and religious groups in Macedonia and other **Ottoman** provinces opposed to the Hamidian regime in Istanbul. Yugoslav Macedonian historiography interprets this stance as a form of Macedonian separatism, an ideology embraced by **Jane Sandanski** and the IMARO's left (*see* **FEDERALISTS**; **MACEDONISM**). By contrast, Bulgarian historians claim that while Delčev, much like all other IMARO grandees, struggled for the autonomy of Macedonia, and also of the Adrianople *vilâyet*, he never denied his Bulgarian ethnicity. They quote evidence drawn from Delčev's correspondence (*see also* **MACEDONIAN QUESTION**).

Delčev was skeptical of the chances for success of large-scale armed action against the Ottoman Empire. He did his utmost to neutralize the incursions of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee** into Macedonia aiming to forestall Ottoman reprisals against the non-Muslim population. Delčev also opposed the IMARO Central Committee's plan for a mass uprising in the summer of 1903. Instead, he favored terrorist tactics and personally commanded several dynamite attacks against the Ottoman railway and telegraph networks. Delčev was absent from the IMARO's congress in Salonica in January 1903, which endorsed the uprising, but his personal influence informed a decision to order full-blown mobilization solely in the revolutionary districts of **Bitola** and Adrianople, and pursue guerrilla tactics elsewhere. Delčev did not live to see the plan's exe-

cution, as he was shot in a skirmish with Ottoman forces on 4 May 1903 at the village of Banica near Serres (*see also* ILINDEN UPRISING).

The leader's remains were transferred from Sofia to **Skopje** in October 1946 to be buried in the courtyard of the St. Spas (Savior) Church. Several settlements are named after Delčev, including Delčevo in Macedonia (until 1950 Carevo selo) and Goce Delčev in Bulgaria (until 1951 Nevrokop). *See also* MATOV, HRISTO; SARAFOV, BORIS; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

DELIIVANOV, PETŪR (TUŠE) (1869–1950). **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist from Kukuš, present-day Kilkis. An **Exarchist** teacher in **Štip**, Deliivanov was a confidant of **Goce Delčev** and worked with him to spread the IMARO's network of committees and bands across Macedonia. After 1908 he was a member of the People's Federative Party (*see* FEDERALISTS). Deliivanov settled in **Sofia** in 1909, where he published in 1946 memoirs about Delčev and his own revolutionary career. After 1944, Deliivanov participated in the procommunist leadership of the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in **Bulgaria**.

DEMNEVSKI, ALEKSA "BAUMANN" (1905–1961). Communist functionary and Yugoslav military officer. Born in **Veles**, Demnievski joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1926. After studying in the Soviet Union, he fought in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Upon his return to **Skopje** in 1944, Demnievski was appointed commander of the Macedonian units fighting the *Wehrmacht* at the Srem front in Vojvodina (northern **Yugoslavia**). After the war, he pursued a career in the Yugoslav People's Army. *See also* ARMED FORCES; WORLD WAR II.

DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE (DEMOKRATSKA ALTERNATIVA). Political party founded by **Vasil Tupurkovski** in March 1998. It was part of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**–dominated cabinet from 1998 to 2001. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE (*DIMOKRATIKOS STRATOS TIS ELLADAS*). See GREEK CIVIL WAR.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ALBANIANS (ALBANIAN, *PARTIA DEMOKRATIKE SHQIPTARE*; MACEDONIAN, *DEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA NA ALBANCITE*). Political party established in 1994 after a split in the **Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)** involving a group of radicals around **Arben Xhaferi** and **Menduh Thaçi**. In 1997, the faction merged with the People's Democratic Party to form the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA). The DPA campaigned for the transformation of Macedonia into a binational state. The party became a coalition partner of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)** between 1998 and 2002, as well as after the 2006 general elections. Since 2001, the DPA has vied for the **Albanian** vote, at national and local level, with the **Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)**. In 2007, Thaçi replaced Xhaferi as the party leader. In the spring of 2008, the DPA lobbied energetically for the recognition of **Kosovo's** independence by Macedonia, threatening to leave the governing coalition. The party trailed behind its rival DUI during the early elections in June 2008 with roughly 8 percent of the vote and 11 members of parliament. The first round of voting was marred by several incidents in **Skopje** and **Aračinovo** leaving one dead and several wounded. The relatively weak electoral performance meant that the IMRO-DPMNU opted for a coalition with the DUI. Though the DPA was formally invited to join the cabinet as well, Thaçi declined and chose to be in opposition. Following the elections, the PDP announced its merger with the DPA. See also SELMANI, IMER.

DEMOCRATIC UNION FOR INTEGRATION (DUI; ALBANIAN, *BASHKIMI DEMOKRATIK PËR INTEGRIM*; MACEDONIAN, *DEMOKRATSKA UNIJA ZA INTEGRACIJA*). Political party established in 2002 by **Ali Ahmeti**. The DUI includes figures connected with the **National Liberation Army**. Effectively challenging the power of its rival, the **Democratic Party of Albanians**, the party won 11.9 and 12.2 percent of the vote in the 2002 and 2006 election, which corresponds to roughly 70 percent of the **Albanian**

electorate. The DUI was part of the ruling coalition in 2002–2006 headed by the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**. At the early elections in June 2008, the DUI won again 12 percent of the vote, translating into 18 seats in parliament. This success paved the way to a coalition government with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity**, which had previously refused to work together with what was in effect the largest Albanian party. *See also* ARIFI, TEUTA; MEH-METI, ERMIRA; OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

DIASPORA. *See* EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA.

DIMITROV, ANDON (1868–1933). Political activist and lawyer born in Ajvatovo near **Salonica**. Graduating from the law department of the University of Liege, he came back to Salonica to teach Turkish at the **Exarchist** high school he once attended himself. Dimitrov was one of the founders of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. Later he worked as an attorney in **Pri-lep** and **Bitola** and, after the **Young Turk Revolution**, as a judge in Istanbul. In 1912 Dimitrov settled in **Sofia**. *See also* BATANDŽIEV, HRISTO; GRUEV, DAMJAN; HADŽINIKOLOV, IVAN; POPAR-SOV, PETŪR; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

DIMITROV, DEJAN (1873–1910). **Internal Macedono-Adriano-politan Revolutionary Organization** commander from Laktinje near **Ohrid**. Dimitrov was one of the leaders of the **Ilinden Uprising** in the area. He was killed in a skirmish with **Ottoman** troops in 1910. *See also* DAVIDOV, TOMA; UZUNOV, HRISTO.

DIMITROV, DIMITAR (1936–). Distinguished intellectual, writer, and politician. Dimitrov was born in Cakoni near Voden/Edhessa in **Aegean Macedonia**. He is the author of several books of children's fiction as well as of philosophical and political essays. As the culture minister in the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** government in office since 1998, Dimitrov came under fire because of his Bulgaro-

phile leanings. He also served as ambassador to Russia. *See also* DIMITROV, NIKOLA.

DIMITROV, GEORGI (1882–1949). Bulgarian politician, prominent figure in the 20th-century communist movement. Dimitrov was born in the village of Kovačevci near **Sofia** into a family of refugees from **Pirin Macedonia**. A social democrat since 1902, Dimitrov led the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** after its foundation in 1919. He fled to **Yugoslavia** in the autumn of 1923 after an abortive revolt against the government. Settling in Vienna and then Berlin, Dimitrov took part in the establishment of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**, which was subordinated to the BCP's exiled leadership. Dimitrov was at the center of a trial staged in Leipzig by the Nazis over the burning of the *Reichstag* in 1933. He was closely involved in shaping the communists' policy on the **Macedonian Question**. In the 1930s and 1940s, Dimitrov was a high-ranking Soviet official chairing the Communist International (Comintern) and the international department within the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee. Dimitrov built a powerful cult around his persona among both the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav communists, but in fact he was thoroughly subservient to Joseph Stalin.

Dimitrov returned to **Bulgaria** in 1945 and headed the country's government until his death in 1949. He conducted negotiations with **Josip Broz Tito** and other Yugoslav officials over the establishment of a joint federal state with Yugoslav Macedonia absorbing the Pirin region in Bulgaria (*see* BLED AGREEMENTS). Dimitrov also supported strongly the policy of promoting the newly standardized **Macedonian language** in **Pirin Macedonia**, heralded at the 10th Plenum of the BCP's Central Committee in August 1946. As a result, Dimitrov is still celebrated in the Republic of Macedonia, while in post-1989 Bulgaria he is blamed by the right wing for both the establishment of a Stalinist totalitarian regime in the country and for "national treason." *See also* BLAGOEV, DIMITŪR; ŽIVKOV, TODOR.

DIMITROV, NIKOLA (1972–). Macedonian diplomat. The son of **Dimitar Dimitrov**, Dimitrov was a national security adviser to president **Boris Trajkovski**. From 2001 to 2006, he served as Macedonia's ambassador to the **United States**. Since 2003, Dimitrov has

been a special envoy charged with the bilateral negotiations with **Greece** at the **United Nations**.

DIMOV, AFANASIJ (NACE) (1876–1916). Political and cultural activist. Dimov was born in Papradište (**Azot**). He collaborated with his brother **Dimitrija Čupovski** in a variety of associations based in St. Petersburg, which propagated the Macedonian Slavs' identity as a separate nation. *See also* DEDOV, STEFAN; MACEDONISM; MISIRKOV, KRSTE.

DIMOV, CVETAN (1909–1942). Communist functionary from **Skopje**. Active in the trade union movement since the late 1920s, Dimov emerged as one of the leading communists in his native town by the mid-1930s. In June 1942, he joined the Provincial Committee of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in **Vardar Macedonia**. Dimov was soon arrested by the Bulgarian police and tortured to death. *See also* PARTISAN MOVEMENT.

DIMOVSKA, DOSTA (1954–). Writer, intellectual, and politician. Dimovska was one of the notable figures in the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)** in the 1990s. Prior to her political career, she was a professor of philosophy at the University of **Skopje**. From 1999 to 2002, Dimovska served as a minister of interior in **Ljubčo Georgievski's** cabinet. Splitting from the IMRO-DPMNU, Dimovska established the Democratic Republican Union of Macedonia in November 2004. The party was dissolved two years later following its failure to enter the Macedonian parliament. In 2007, Dimovska was appointed director of the Macedonian Cultural and Information Center in **Sofia**.

DIMOVSKI, ILIJA "GOČE" (1905–1961). Communist guerrilla commander from the village of Statica near Florina/Lerin. Dimovski took part in the communist resistance in **Aegean Macedonia**. After the outbreak of the **Greek Civil War** in 1946, he was one of the leaders of the People's Liberation Front. After the communist defeat Dimovski settled in **Skopje**. *See also* AEGEANS; PEJOV, NAUM; SLAVO-MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT.

DOREV, PANČO (1878–1938). Diplomat, historian, and lawyer.

Dorev was born in Patele in the Florina/Lerin region. After the **Young Turk Revolution**, he was one of the representatives of the **Bitola vilâyet** elected to the **Ottoman** parliament. Dorev opposed **Todor Aleksandrov**'s call for renewed armed struggle and kept his seat until 1912. He was an official at the **Bulgarian Exarchate** and from 1912 to 1914 served as a councillor at **Bulgaria**'s embassy in Istanbul. Dorev not only stayed on the diplomatic career track in the interwar period but also published a range of historical studies. His work laid the foundation of Ottoman studies in Bulgaria.

DOSITHEUS (DOSITEJ) (1906–1981). Eminent cleric. Born in **Skopje** as Dimitar Stojkovski, Dositej took his vows in 1924. He studied theology in **Bitola** and **Belgrade** in the 1930s to become the bishop of Toplica (southern **Serbia**) in 1951. In October 1958, Dositej became the first head of the **Macedonian Orthodox Church**. *See also* MICHAEL.

DRANGOV, BORIS (1872–1917). Military commander and revolutionary. Drangov was born in **Skopje** to a merchant family from the Čair neighborhood. He went to **Sofia** in 1891 and attended the Military School together with **Goce Delčev**. Drangov fought in the **Ilinden Uprising** and, after a period in the General Staff Academy in St. Petersburg, in the **Balkan Wars**. He excelled as a military commander during **World War I**. He also presided over a junior-officer school opened in Skopje. Colonel Drangov was killed at the Crna River in May 1917 and was buried in his native city. *See also* DRANGOV, KIRIL.

DRANGOV, KIRIL (1902–1946). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist, political figure, and lawyer. The son of **Boris Drangov**, he was an ally of **Ivan Mihajlov**, whom he met at **Sofia** University's Faculty of Law. The two established the Macedonian Student Society *Vardar* in 1922. Two years later, in September 1924, they organized and carried out the executions of **Todor Aleksandrov**'s murderers as well as of other leading leftists (*see* **FEDERALISTS**). Starting from 1928, Drangov was involved in the

assassinations of **Naum Tomalevski**, **Georgi Baždarov**, and other partisans of Mihajlov's rival, General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**.

Following the military coup in May 1934, Drangov was detained for two years and closely monitored by the **Bulgarian** police over a long period of time upon his release. In 1941, he settled in **Skopje** and opened a legal practice. There is evidence that he was invited to become the minister of interior in May 1944, an offer he refused. Drangov returned to Sofia in 1944 and hid for nearly two years. Discovered by the communist police, he committed suicide. Drangov's daughter, Rajna Drangova, was one of the founders of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies** in 1990. *See also* MIHAJLOVISTS; PROTOGEROVISTS.

DŬRVINGOV, PETŬR (1875–1958). Military commander and historian. Born in Kukuš/Kilkis, Dŭrvingov was involved in the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)** and in 1903 took part in the **Ilinden Uprising**. He was also one of the leaders of the Macedono-Adrianopolitan Volunteer Corps during the **Balkan Wars**. In **World War I**, Colonel Dŭrvingov headed the 11th Macedonian Infantry Division, which was formed following an initiative by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. The division fought in some of major battles along the **Salonica** front. After 1918, Dŭrvingov retired from the army and published work as a military historian. *See also* DRANGOV, BORIS.

DUŠAN THE MIGHTY, STEPHEN (STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN SILNI) (ca. 1308–1355). Serbian monarch from the Nemanjić Dynasty whose reign saw the peak of medieval Serbia. Dušan ruled over an extensive domain that included the whole of geographic Macedonia, with the exception of **Salonica** and its surroundings. He acceded to the Serbian throne in 1331 after overthrowing and strangling his father, King Stephen (Stefan) III Dečanski. The new king was also related to the Bulgarian royal family through his mother and also his wife, Princess Helena. On Easter 1346 he was crowned in **Skopje** as Tsar and Autocrat of Serbs and Greeks by the Serb patriarch of Peć, a town in present-day **Kosovo**. In 1349 the tsar promulgated, again in Skopje, a legal codex combining Roman-Byzantine and Slavic customary norms.

Though Skopje was the capital of Dušan's empire, the tsar's ambition, not unlike that of earlier Slavic strongmen such as the Bulgarian rulers **Simeon** and **John II Asen**, was to conquer Constantinople. Dušan had spent six years of his youth in the imperial capital and was an admirer of **Byzantine** culture and institutions. He was not able to fulfill his dream, as he died while preparing the campaign. The empire did not outlive its founder and was partitioned by Dušan's vassals (*see* MRNJAVČEVIĆ DYNASTY). Serb rule left scores of churches and monasteries across Macedonia as well as in neighboring **Kosovo**. The memory of Dušan's power and glory was a driving force behind Serb nationalism's cultural and political ambitions in the **Vardar** region, part of the coveted *Stara Srbija* (Old Serbia), at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. *See also* MILUTIN; SERBS.

– E –

ECONOMY. Well into the first half of the 20th century, the region of Macedonia was dominated by small-scale subsistence **agriculture** and transhumant sheep- and cattle-breeding. In the Ottoman period there were also larger landholdings (*çiftliks*), typically owned by Muslim magnates and cultivated by sharecroppers. Despite the modernizing influences in the **Tanzimat** era, associated with the growth of trade, foreign investment, and the construction of railroads, intensive agriculture never fully developed in Ottoman times. The shortage of land in the western and southwestern portions of Macedonia resulted in practices of labor migration (known as *pečalba* or *gurbet*). Itinerant workers from Macedonia sought employment in **Bulgaria**, in **Serbia**, and as far afield as southern Romania and Istanbul, and later the **United States**. As elsewhere in the **Ottoman Empire**, town economies functioned around guilds of craftsmen and merchants, including leatherworkers, weavers, metalworkers, goldsmiths, wholesalers, grain dealers, and bakers. By the close of the 19th century, however, the crafts were mostly in decline, unable to adapt to foreign competition.

The end of Ottoman rule in **Vardar Macedonia** led to the redistribution of sizable plots of lands left after the exodus of Muslim land-

lords. Much of the land was allocated to the 70,000 Serb colonists who were settled by Belgrade in the interwar decades. The Yugoslav state controlled sectors such as tobacco processing, a major employer in urban centers such as **Skopje** and **Prilep**. Still, Vardar Macedonia remained one of the least industrialized regions in the kingdom, with only the mining and hydroenergy sectors making modest advances.

The communist regime emerging after **World War II** launched a modernization program aimed at industrialization and infrastructure development. Economic growth delivered through the five-year plans was perceived as an instrument in forging a new collective identity in the framework of socialist federal **Yugoslavia**. At the First Congress of the **Communist Party of Macedonia**, **Lazar Koliševski** pledged that a new national economy would come into being. However, Yugoslavia's heavy investment in the defense industries disadvantaged Macedonia, as did also the severance of links with the Soviet Union, the principal source of capital, in the wake of the **Cominform** crisis.

The situation changed in the late 1950s with the influx of central-state resources. The scheme was institutionalized with the Federal Fund for the Accelerated Development of the Underdeveloped Republics and **Kosovo** set up in February 1965. By the 1970s, industry contributed 33 percent of Yugoslav Macedonia's gross national product, nearly triple its share back in the 1950s. Large enterprises such as the steelworks and the pharmaceutical and chemical industries around **Skopje** and **Kumanovo** came into operation. Other sectors included textiles, with capacities in **Tetovo**, **Štip**, and **Veles**, food processing, and mining in the east. The tourism sector's importance grew, particularly in **Ohrid** but also in mountain resorts such as **Marovo** and **Pelister**. Industrialization spurred migration into urban centers, yet by the 2000s agriculture still employed half of the working population.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Yugoslav communists moved away from the Stalinist economic model, adopting the doctrine of self-management (*samouprava*), which gave enterprises a greater degree of independence to seek market profit. The liberal line, which was advocated in Macedonia by **Krste Crvenkovski**, put pressure on inefficient operations by capping state subsidies. Yet this effort ran into bureaucratic resistance in the 1970s. Like other southern republics,

Macedonia continued lagging behind front-runners such as Slovenia and Croatia. The growth targets of the five-year plans were not achieved in the 1960s. Unemployment remained high at nearly 20 percent. Industrial enterprises could only in part solve the problem with oversupply of labor. Starting from the early 1960s, migrants headed to western Europe, Australia, and Canada pursuing employment. In the 1980s Macedonia was still at two-thirds of the Yugoslav average in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, with only Kosovo scoring worse. This was partly offset through transfers from the federal budget, but Yugoslavia was hardly a panacea for the southern republic. High inflation and unemployment continued plaguing the Yugoslav economy in the 1980s and depressed growth.

The breakup of the federal state in the early 1990s dealt a heavy blow to Macedonia's economy. The loss of key markets ushered in a period of industrial decline that saw GDP plummeting by more than a half by the mid-1990s. It was only partly reversed due to the influx of foreign direct investment. Throughout the 1990s, the gray sector accounted for as much as 40 percent of GDP. It has been particularly important for the Albanian community, which was largely excluded from the formal sector during the socialist period.

The restrictive macroeconomic policies of the 1990s, following closely the International Monetary Fund's prescriptions, curbed inflation, brought fiscal consolidation, and stabilized the *denar*, the new currency introduced in 1993. Another positive factor was the **privatization** process that gained momentum after 1996. The economy saw structural changes, with services accounting for more than a half of the country's GDP, a common trend in many transition economies. However, economic recovery remained slow due to the sluggish restructuring reforms. It also proved vulnerable to political shocks such as the war in Kosovo and the 2001 ethnic violence in the country (see NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY). Growth fell while inflation accelerated to 11 percent in 2000.

There were also encouraging signs. Thanks to the deepening relations with the **European Union**, the privatization of state assets, and the cautious start of various institutional reforms, growth averaged 3 to 4 percent over the period 2004–2006. That was considered insufficient, as Macedonia was still lagging behind its regional neighbors. The new administration of **Nikola Gruevski**, in office since the sum-

mer of 2006, adopted a more activist policy aimed at rationalizing regulations, decreasing the tax burden, and attracting foreign investors. Achievements thus far are modest. Growth is up to 5 percent. Exports have also increased but mainly due to low-added-value products such as textiles (more than 50 percent of the total), iron, steel, wine, and vegetables. In 2007, the trade deficit reached \$1.7 billion. The share of unemployed is still at a staggering 35 percent of the labor force, which is very high even if one assumes that the gray sector, possibly reaching as much as 42 percent of GDP, accounts for a substantial part of the figure. An estimated 22 percent of Macedonian citizens continue to live under the poverty line. *See also* AGRICULTURE; EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA; URBANIZATION. Refer to appendix A.

EDUCATION. The territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia was one of the strongholds of Slavic education in the times of **St. Clement of Ohrid**. Yet the region entered the modern era with a rudimentary schooling system. Up until the 19th century, only religious institutions provided formal instruction to a negligible proportion of the populace in subjects such as basic reading and writing, theology, and arithmetic. For the Orthodox Slavs, **Albanians**, and **Vlachs** education was conducted mostly in Greek. Muslims for their part were educated in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, the three classical languages of the empire.

The shift to secular education proceeded slowly from the first half of the 19th century onward. It was linked to the emergence of a thin urban layer of merchants and craftsmen creating the demand and providing the means to fund (usually itinerant) teachers. In the late 1830s and the 1840s, bigger townships like **Prilep** and **Veles** opened elementary schools, which by the 1860s adopted the “class system” whereby pupils were divided into different years according to their age and level of advancement. These schools used not only various textbooks printed by Bulgarian educators such as Petŭr Beron (ca. 1795–1871) and Neophyte of Rila (Neofit Rilski) (1793–1881) but also Serbian and Greek publications. In the 1860s, Prilep and **Štip** already boasted specialized schools training teachers. All these new institutions were central to the political campaigns leading to the creation of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in the 1870s. Slavophile school-

teachers such as **Rajko Žinzifov**, **Jordan Hadžikonstantinov-Džinot**, and the **Miladinov** brothers, though themselves schooled in the Hellenic tradition, challenged the authority of the **Constantinople Patriarchate** by introducing local dialects into the schoolroom. Greek schools also spread across the region, particularly in significant centers such as **Bitola** inhabited by many Hellenized Slavs and Vlachs. As early as 1860, **Kruševo** already had a Greek *gymnasion*.

In the last two decades of 19th century, the school system was already an arena of nationalist competition. In 1880, an **Exarchist** high school was launched in **Salonica** under the directorship of **Kuzman Šapkarev**. It soon developed into a major cultural and political center for all (pro-)Bulgarian Slavs from the region vying with the Greek establishments. According to Greek sources, by the time of the **Balkan Wars**, there were 384 Bulgarian schools with 17,777 pupils and 521 Greek schools with 32,534 pupils in the *Salonica vilâyet*, and 272 Bulgarian schools with 16,089 pupils and 432 Greek schools with 25,026 pupils in the *Bitola/Manastir vilâyet*. Serb efforts intensified, too. Serb schools opened their doors in **Skopje** and **Kumanovo** in 1892–1893. By the 1910s, in the whole of Macedonia and **Kosovo** there were 226 Serbian elementary schools; four male and four female high schools in cities such as *Salonica*, *Skopje*, and *Bitola*; and one seminary. Even so, the educational standards of the population, especially in rural areas, remained low compared to the neighboring Balkan countries, and illiteracy was widespread.

After **World War I**, the Yugoslav authorities assumed full control of the education system in **Vardar Macedonia**. In the 1920s, they opened a number of new junior or full high schools to assist the fuller integration of the southern province. A branch of Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy was launched in *Skopje* in 1920, followed by an Academic Society in 1921. Still, those few local youths who sought higher education did so mainly at the universities in **Belgrade** and **Zagreb**, and in some rare cases in western Europe. Furthermore, in the 1930s there was only one high school per 100,000 inhabitants in the region. Less than 20 percent of the population was literate, rising to about one-third in the mid-1940s. In some areas, particularly those populated by Muslims, the figure was as high as 90 percent. After April 1941, the new Bulgarian authorities set out to open 800 new schools, which was a popular initiative. The **language** of in-

struction was changed from Serbian to Bulgarian, but unlike the pre-1912 Exarchist schools, many of the teachers had to be sent from **Sofia** as the locals' command of standard Bulgarian was inadequate. The Bulgarian authorities also established a full-fledged university in Skopje. However, by the end of **World War II** there were still less than 200 people with higher education, and high school education was a mark of social distinction.

Mass education came only in the period of communist **Yugoslavia**. Eight-year education was made compulsory in 1950, and the number of pupils at the elementary school level rose from 11,272 in 1938–1939 to 330,698 in 1973. Coupled with the expansion of secondary education and mass media, this helped spread the newly standardized **Macedonian language** and increase dramatically literacy rates. In 1949, the republican authorities established the **St. Cyril and St. Methodius** University in Skopje and in 1979 the St. Clement of Ohrid University of Bitola. The **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** followed in October 1967.

Yet university education, unlike secondary or primary education, was available only in Macedonian. The Albanians, representing up to 23 percent of the republic's population, accounted for less than 7 percent of students (the respective percentage was 12.4 in high schools). Higher education in Albanian became a hotly contested issue after Macedonia's independence with the establishment of the university in Mala Rečica near **Tetovo** in 1994, officially recognized only in June 2003. It followed in the footsteps of the South East European University, a private institution providing education in Albanian, **Macedonian**, and English, which was established in Tetovo in October 2001 with support from Western donors, including the **European Union** and the **United States**. It came to be known as "[Max van der] Stuhl's University" following the name of the High Commissioner for Minorities at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In October 2007, the government of Nikola Gruevski opened yet another state university in Štip named after **Goce Delčev**. In 2006–2007 there were 57,011 university-level students (17.8 percent higher compared to the previous academic year). Yet, dissatisfaction with the quality of higher education in the country prompts many Macedonian students to seek higher education abroad, in the neighboring countries such as **Serbia** or **Bulgaria**, whose universi-

ties apply a tuition fee-free quota to Macedonian citizens, western Europe, and the United States. According to the World Bank, the university enrollment rate has increased from 17 percent in 1990 to 30 percent in 2005.

Beyond the university level, the Macedonian educational system is subdivided into a primary and a secondary tier. Primary education, which covers children between the ages of 7 and 15, is free and compulsory, and the enrollment level is around 98 percent. Despite that, dropout rates, 1.8 percent overall, remain high among ethnic groups such as the **Roma** and the Albanians. Secondary education, in either general (*gimnazii*) or specialized technical schools, takes place in four additional grades, and it is also free of charge. The enrollment rate is 84 percent, up from 56 percent in 1990. Ethnic communities such as the Albanians, **Turks, Serbs**, and Roma study in classes in their respective language. Since the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**, the process of educational segregation, particularly concerning Macedonians and Albanians, has been well under way. In mixed townships such as **Struga**, the general high schools have been divided across ethnic lines to prevent tensions. According to the State Statistical Office, there were 222,359 pupils in primary schools in 2007–2008, 3.9 percent lower compared to the previous school year, and 94,545 in secondary schools, from 93,763 a year before. Macedonia spends on education about 15 percent of its total budget, \$3.432 billion, or \$514.8 million, in 2008, which corresponds to 3.5 percent of the gross domestic product. *See also* LITERATURE.

ELAS (GREEK, *ELLINIKOS LAÏKOS APELEFTEROTIKOS STRATOS*; GREEK PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY). The military branch of the communist-dominated National Liberation Front (*Ethniko Apelefterotiko Metopo*) in **Greece**. ELAS was launched in the summer of 1942 and gradually spread from the central regions of the country into Thessaly and **Aegean Macedonia**. By 1944, it controlled most of the mountainous areas in Greece. At its peak, it had about 70,000 fighters, including several thousand Slavic Macedonians who formed the so-called **Slavo-Macedonian People's Liberation Front**. ELAS was disbanded in February 1945, following the Varkiza agreements. After 1946, it reappeared as the **Demo-**

cratic Army of Greece. *See also* GREEK CIVIL WAR; OHRANA; WORLD WAR II.

EMIGRANT COMMUNIST UNION “LIBERATION” (EMIGRANTSKI KOMUNISTIČESKI SŮJUZ “OSVOBOŽDENIE”). Organization established by the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** in May 1920. It united refugees from Macedonia, Thrace, Dobrudža, and the districts of Caribrod and Bosilegrad ceded to **Yugoslavia**. Among the founders were some notable personalities of the Macedonian movement’s left, such as **Dimo Hadžidimov**, **Gjorče Petrov**, and **Mihail Gerdžikov**. It was dissolved in August 1923 following an agreement between the BCP and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. *See also* FEDERALISTS.

EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA. Out-migration has been a very common phenomenon in Macedonia’s society. It is partly rooted in traditional practices of labor migration known as *pečalba* or *gurbet*. By the 1880s itinerant workers (masons, bricklayers, milkmen, wood-carvers, agricultural laborers, innkeepers) from Macedonia, particularly from the southwestern parts, had established colonies in big **Ottoman** cities such as Istanbul and **Salonica** as well as in the neighboring countries of **Serbia**, **Bulgaria**, **Greece**, and even in Romania. **Vlachs** were particularly mobile, both as transhumant herders and as merchants who had their colonies as far afield as Egypt. The political upheavals of the 1900s resulted in Slavs migrating in great numbers to Bulgaria and also to North America, where about 50,000 settled between 1903 and 1906. Starting from the 1890s, these migrants and refugees provided a recruitment pool for the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, which also exerted its influence in North America and western Europe (*see* MACEDONIAN PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION). Similarly, Greek and Serbian efforts relied on diaspora networks connecting **Belgrade**, Athens, and other cities with rural Macedonia.

The **Balkan Wars** and the exchange of populations between Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria in the 1920s saw tens of thousands of Slavs from the central and eastern parts of **Aegean Macedonia** settling in Bulgaria. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Muslims, **Turks**, and **Albanians**, as well as Slav, Greek, and even Vlach

speakers from all parts of Macedonia left from 1912 to 1923 for the Ottoman Empire and, later, republican Turkey. Another 186,000 Yugoslav Muslims, mostly Turks and Albanians from Macedonia and **Kosovo**, settled in Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s.

The **Greek Civil War** led to a wave of Slavic Macedonian migrants to the countries of the communist bloc. Many found their way to Canada and Australia, home to communities from the Castoria/Kostur and Florina/Lerin regions established in the early 20th century and the interwar period (*see* AEGEANS). By the beginning of the 1980s, the Aegean diaspora was successfully co-opted by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, despite the sporadic competition by Bulgaria. Many of the pre-1940s migrants, on the other hand, preserved their pro-Bulgarian sympathies. Skopje's efforts were directed by a specialized republican agency (*Matica na iselenicite od Makedonija*), which was inaugurated as early as 1951.

From the 1960s onward, unemployment drove many inhabitants of Vardar Macedonia to seek their fortunes in western Europe, Canada, and Australia. This was facilitated by **Yugoslavia's** liberal policy on emigration. It included also minorities: by the 1990s there were up to 40,000 Macedonian Albanians residing in Switzerland alone. Migrant remittances became a vital income source. By 1981, statistics showed that 101,393 citizens of Yugoslav Macedonia worked abroad. In the regions around **Bitola** and Resen, labor migration affected more than 15 percent of the active population. As in the 19th and early 20th centuries, this migration was circular, with many coming back for a period of time to leave again in search of employment.

Parts of the Macedonian diaspora embraced radical nationalism, often directed against Yugoslavia. The Movement for Liberation and Unification of Macedonia (*Dviženje za osloboduvanje i obedinuvanje na Makedonija*) in the mid-1970s contributed to the establishment of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** and other pro-independence groups. Organizations such as the Canada-based United Macedonians sponsored Macedonian activists in Aegean and **Pirin Macedonia**. They also propagated a version of national identity focused on **Ancient Macedonians**, downplaying the Slavic element.

At present, there are about 83,000 people of Slavic Macedonian

ancestry in Australia; 32,000 in Canada (community leaders claim the number is three times higher); about 60,000 each in Germany and Italy; and 42,000 in the **United States** (here, too, the actual numbers are likely to be higher). Bulgarian sources claim that there could be up to 1.5 million people with family roots from geographic Macedonia among the country's population, but it is very difficult to verify that figure. *See also* ECONOMY.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU). The EU is a key external economic and political actor involved in Macedonia and the wider region of the western Balkans. According to Eurostat, in 2005 the EU accounted for 44 percent of the country's imports and 55 percent of the exports, the respective figures being 1,310 million and 1,052 million euro. The EU is also the primary source of foreign direct investment into Macedonia. Macedonia has a candidate status and is aiming to accede to the union sometime in the 2010s.

In the early 1990s, relations with the EU were blocked by the dispute with **Greece**. The member states delayed the recognition of Macedonia's independence and the establishment of diplomatic relations despite the favorable opinion delivered by the Badinter Commission in January 1992. Following the **Interim Accord** of September 1995, however, the EU signed a cooperation agreement with Macedonia and made the latter eligible for financial assistance under the PHARE program. Macedonia participated actively in all EU-promoted cooperation initiatives in the Balkans such as the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe. It was the first country in the western Balkans, a group comprising the former Yugoslav republics minus Slovenia plus **Albania**, to conclude an association agreement with the EU in April 2001.

EU integration was an incentive for solving the conflict between the government and the Albanian **National Liberation Army**. An EU envoy, Francois Leotard, brokered, together with the American diplomat James Pardew, the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** in August 2001. In 2003, the EU assumed from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** the responsibilities over peacekeeping by initiating the Concordia mission, later succeeded by Proxima. Erwan Fouere, an EU special representative reporting to the foreign and security policy head Javier Solana, was installed in **Skopje**.

Macedonia managed to get back on the EU integration track. Having joined the World Trade Organization in April 2003, on 22 March 2004 Macedonia officially applied for EU membership, following the example of front-runner, Croatia. In December 2005, the European Council granted Macedonia a candidate country status. The country's progress to membership, including the start of accession negotiations, hinges on improving interethnic relations and on further economic and good governance reforms. As elsewhere in the region, EU officials such as the enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn have singled out the reform of the judiciary and the implementation of anticorruption measures as critical areas of action. *See also* ECONOMY.

EXARCHIST. Partisan of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, an institution that was present in **Vardar** and **Aegean Macedonia** between 1870 and 1912. *See also* CONSTANTINOPLE, PATRIARCHATE OF; MILLET.

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FEBRUARY MARCH (1944). **Partisan** offensive aimed at relocating forces from the Meglen area in **Aegean Macedonia** to the **Azot** in central **Vardar Macedonia**, the west, and the **Kumanovo** region. After several confrontations with the **Bulgarian** army and gendarmerie, the **partisans** were driven back to their base in Meglen. According to Yugoslav Macedonian sources, they suffered more than 1,000 casualties. However, the partisan headquarters together with the Hristo Botev battalion made of former Bulgarian military border guards managed to break through the mountains of eastern Macedonia and reach the north. Yugoslav Macedonian historiography hailed the February March as a major achievement in the communist resistance against the occupation. *See also* APOSTOLSKI, MIHAJLO; WORLD WAR II.

FEDERALISTS. Faction within the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** originally formed by the supporters of **Jane Sandanski**. It originated mostly from the Ser-

res (hence, the name *serčani*, people from Serres, by which they were known) and the **Strumica** revolutionary districts. After the **Ilinden Uprising**, Sandanski quarreled with IMARO leaders such as **Hristo Matov** and **Boris Sarafov**. He insisted on cooperation with all ethnic and religious groups in the **Ottoman Empire** and envisioned the inclusion of Macedonia and the district of **Adrianople** in a Balkan federation as a solution to the **Macedonian Question**. The Federalists were also for the decentralization of the IMARO. This was opposed by the right-wing (“centralist”) supporters of the hierarchical principle in the organization, eager to counteract the Greek and Serb bands’ incursions into Macedonia (*see* MELAS, PAVLOS; SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION).

Sandanski and his comrades welcomed the **Young Turk Revolution** and launched the People’s Federative Party, established in August 1908. It published the newspapers *Konstitucionna zarja* (Constitutional Beam) and *Narodna volja* (People’s Will). Aspiring to unite all of Macedonia’s nationalities, the party succeeded in setting up only a Bulgarian section. It was also stymied by the internal conflict between the central bureau dominated by socialists (**Dimitar Vlahov**, Hristo Jankov, Lazar Tomov) and the IMARO *četa* commanders Sandanski and **Hristo Černopeev** together with their supporters **Čudomir Kantardžiev**, Atanas Spasov (Taskata Serski) (1876–1923), and Aleksandŭr Bujnov (1879–1924). In January 1910, the former wing expelled the latter. The Ottoman government banned the party at the end of the year. Federalist paramilitaries led by Sandanski and **Todor Panica** contributed to the **Salonica** expedition corps in 1909 organized by the Young Turks to suppress a countercoup in Istanbul. In the First **Balkan War** the *serčani* fought alongside the Bulgarian army and their centralist rivals.

In the aftermath of **World War I**, the late Sandanski’s supporters, such as Panica and **Dimo Hadžidimov**, gravitated toward the Macedonian Emigrant Federative Organization (*Makedonska emigrantska federativna organizacija*, MEFO) established in 1921 by Dr. **Filip Atanasov**, architect Nikola Jurukov (1880–1923), and Slave Ivanov (1888–1948). The MEFO succeeded the reconciliation commission, which existed briefly in 1919 with the goal of bridging the divide between the left and the right in the Macedonian movement. Backed by **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski**’s government, the MEFO campaigned

for Macedonia's unification in a multiethnic polity divided into cantons with Esperanto as the common language. MEFO vied with the bands loyal to **Todor Aleksandrov** in **Pirin Macedonia** and the Kjustendil district (*see* AUTONOMISTS).

Defeated at the end of 1922, MEFO remnants eventually joined the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** established by the Comintern and the **Bulgarian Communist Party**. A circle in Vienna publishing the *Makedonsko súžnanie* (Macedonian Consciousness) advocated the ethnic separateness of Macedonian Slavs (*see* MACEDONISM). Some of the military commanders (Stojan Mišev, Miše Sokolarski, **Gligor Ciklev**), known as the Macedonian Federative Revolutionary Organization, moved into Serb-held **Vardar Macedonia**, where they collaborated with the authorities in their struggle against the IMRO. *See also* KALAMATIJEVIĆ, MIHAÏLO.

FILIPOV, STOJAN (1877–1941). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** commander from Nevrokop in **Pirin Macedonia**, member of the Bulgarian parliament. Filipov was a key loyalist of **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Ivan Mihajlov**. He organized the assassination of **Jane Sandanski** in 1915.

FIRMILIAN (?–1903). Serbian bishop appointed by the **Constantinople Patriarchate** to the diocese of **Skopje** in 1902 with the support of the Russian ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Ivan Zinoviev. Opposed by both the **Exarchists** and the Hellenized **Vlach** partisans of the patriarchate, the arrival of Firmilian, a prominent member of the **St. Sava Society** in **Belgrade**, was a significant success for the Serb cause in northern Macedonia. Firmilian died in December 1903. *See also* SERBS.

FLAG. After Macedonia's independence in September 1991, the republic's parliament passed a law proclaiming the **Star of Vergina** on a red background as a national flag. This flag had been used throughout the 1980s by Macedonian nationalist groups, especially in the **di-aspóra**. It symbolized the separation from Yugoslavia and the link with the nation's "authentic" past. The choice poisoned relations with **Greece**, which saw it as laying a claim on its territory and his-

torical heritage. Coming under Greek pressure, including via a trade embargo imposed in 1994, **Skopje** agreed to change the design of its flag with the **Interim Accord** of September 1995. The new flag, formally approved by the parliament on 5 October 1995, bears some resemblance to its predecessor; it represents a golden sun with eight rays, thickening toward the end, on a red field. The flag is now widely accepted as legitimate by the society at large, although it is not rare to see various radical groups and individuals brandishing the “true Macedonian flag” bearing the Star of Vergina.

Macedonian **Albanians** traditionally use the flag with a two-headed eagle on a red background. Its use was a matter of political contestation in the 1990s, but after the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** it was accepted that the community has the right to hoist it on public buildings in municipalities where it numbers above 20 percent of the population.

FOLKLORE. Macedonia has been a fertile ground for the study of folklore. This has to do with both the diversity of its oral traditions and the long-standing disputes concerning the ethnicity of the majority Slavic population (*see* MACEDONIAN QUESTION). Folklore came into the spotlight in the latter part of the 19th century, a time when romantic notions celebrating the rootedness of national character in folk culture reigned supreme. The first collectors of fairy tales, poems, anecdotes, sayings, beliefs, customs, and songs were of a Slavophile persuasion. In 1860, Stefan Verković (1821–1893), a Bosnian Catholic with Serb sympathies, published in **Belgrade** *Narodne Pesme Makedonski Bugara* (Folksongs of the Macedonian Bulgarians), containing material from the eastern parts of the region (the valleys of Mesta and Struma). Verković was animated by the ideas of South Slavic unification to counteract the assimilation threats posed by Greeks, Hungarians, Germans, and others. These ideas were shared by Monsignor Josip Strossmayer, the grand figure of the Illyrian movement in the Habsburg lands, who sponsored the publication of the **Miladinov** brothers’ collection in 1861. Their example was followed by a new generation of ethnographers including **Kuzman Šapkarev**, who collected and published folklore in all languages spoken in Macedonia, and the autodidact **Marko Cepenkov**. These folklorists also cooperated with the Bulgarian Literary Society, the

future Academy of Sciences, operating in **Sofia** since 1879. Ethnography and folk culture were also studied by scholars from **Serbia** such as **Jovan Cvijić**, Tihomir Djordjević (1868–1944), and **Stojan Novaković**. Referring to folk customs such as *slava*, the veneration of a family patron saint, or to the epic songs dating back to the medieval period, they all claimed Macedonian Slavs, or at least a majority among them, formed an inseparable part of the **Serb** ethnic body.

Folklore was a source of inspiration for the interwar-period authors from **Vardar Macedonia** who wrote fiction and drama in local dialects (*see* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE). Local periodicals such as *Luč* showed a great interest in the subject, as did the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in Sofia (*see* KISELINOV, GEORGI). The study of folk culture developed after **World War II** as the process of nation-building unfolded. The leading personality in this endeavor was Kiril Penušliski (1912–2004), who presided over the Folklore Studies Institute established at **Skopje** University in 1950. He published a number of folklore collections, including Cepenkov's own archives kept at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, as well as specialized ethnographic studies. The republican authorities paid special attention to musical folklore as a channel of identity building at the popular level. *See also* LITERATURE; MUSIC.

FOREIGN POLICY. The Republic of Macedonia's foreign policy has reflected the multiple challenges faced by a small and relatively weak state in a complex regional environment. As it declared independence at a time when former **Yugoslavia** was descending into a violent conflict, Macedonia's objective was to ensure its own stability, if not survival, avoiding the spillover of ethnic tensions from further north. The country found itself in a difficult position due to the clash with **Greece** over the name and national symbols chosen by Skopje (*see* FLAG; STAR OF VERGINA). The disputes delayed Macedonia's acceptance into the **United Nations (UN)** as well as its international recognition by the member states of the **European Union (EU)**. At this juncture, the country was an object of international efforts to stabilize the volatile Balkans rather than a full-fledged foreign policy actor. This was manifest in the **United Nations Preventive Deployment Force** authorized by the UN Security

Council in December 1992. The leading party in the Western effort to shield Macedonia was the **United States**. President Bill Clinton's administration also mediated between Skopje and Athens, and contributed to the conclusion of the **Interim Agreement** of September 1995. Ending the Greek economic embargo, the agreement helped Macedonia establish diplomatic relations with the EU countries as well as obtain membership in international fora such as the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Partnership for Peace program within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

Macedonia's reliance on external anchors and therefore exposure to outside influence is long-standing and goes back to the international interventions in the last **Ottoman** decades (*see* BERLIN, TREATY OF; MÜRZSTEG REFORMS). Moreover, the region of **Vardar Macedonia**, which forms the territorial basis of the state, was carved out as a result of the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**, and hence is a product of some wider dynamics on regional and all-European scale. Dependency was a defining feature of the Yugoslav period too. Within the federation, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia had little scope for independent external action. Though the republican government established a Foreign Relations Bureau (*Biro za odnosi so stranstvo*) in 1969, it could hardly influence Belgrade's policy vis-à-vis the Balkan neighbors such as Greece, **Bulgaria**, or **Albania**, seen as containing substantial ethnic Macedonian minorities. A notable exception was the Macedonian **diaspora** in North America, Australia, and western Europe, with which links were cultivated through various channels. The period also saw *nomenklatura* members from Macedonia, such as **Lazar Mojsov**, rise through the ranks of the Yugoslav diplomatic service and occupy ambassadorial positions in foreign countries and international organizations. However, Macedonia could not fill its national quota, and its citizens accounted for only 3 percent of the total number of Yugoslav diplomats. Skopje diplomats rarely occupied ambassadorial positions in Balkan countries. In consequence, the republic could rely on a limited pool of cadres postindependence and was constrained by a lack of both experience and resources. For instance, it received 8 percent of the former Yugoslav embassy buildings abroad once a final agreement was reached among the successor states in 2001.

Encouraged by the degree of stability achieved by the end of 1995, president **Kiro Gligorov** opted for a more proactive engagement. When it came to the neighbors, however, it had to be grounded on a policy of “equidistance.” The opposition **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** alleged that this position favored a new special relationship with the erstwhile big brother, **Serbia**, the senior partner in the newly created rump Yugoslavia. Once in power, the party sought a *rapprochement* with Bulgaria, terminating in February 1999 the so-called language dispute, and Greece, which became a principal trade and investment partner (*see* PRIVATIZATION). The governments of both **Branko Crvenkovski** (1992–1998) and **Ljubčo Georgievski** (1998–2002) were actively involved in various regional schemes such as the Southeast European Cooperation Process launched in 1996 and the Stability Pact initiated by the EU in the wake of the 1999 **Kosovo** crisis (transformed in 2008 into a Regional Cooperation Council).

The Kosovo war, prompting an influx of **Albanian** refugees into Macedonia, showed that stability was precarious. This became patent with the conflict in 2001 pitting the Skopje government against the Albanian **National Liberation Army**. Similar to the early 1990s, Macedonia became once more a security concern for the West with the EU, U.S., and NATO brokering and safeguarding the implementation of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** of August 2001. In the post-Ohrid period, successive Macedonian governments and especially president **Boris Trajkovski** sought to transform their country from a target for the international stabilization effort into a part of the European mainstream. Membership in NATO and the EU, both of which expanded toward southeast Europe in 2004 and 2007 by incorporating Bulgaria and Romania, is considered essential. Macedonia acted as a U.S. ally in Afghanistan and Iraq, and was seen as a front-runner for NATO accession together with Albania and Croatia. Similarly, in October 2005, the country obtained the status of an EU candidate, which strengthened its accession perspective.

Again the regional environment bore profoundly on Macedonia's fortunes. While Kosovo's declaration of independence in February 2008 made a strong case for bringing Macedonia into NATO in order to build up regional security, the rekindled dispute over the naming

issue resulted in a Greek veto at the Bucharest Summit in April (*see* FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA). **Nikola Gruevski**'s government ambitions to open membership negotiations with the EU are also thwarted by the deterioration of bilateral relations with Athens. On a more positive note, the process of Euro-Atlantic integration involving all former Yugoslav republics and the whole of southeast Europe facilitated stronger links in many fields including trade, infrastructure development, energy, social affairs, and, not least, cultural exchange with all neighboring countries, to the direct benefit of Macedonia. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, STEVO; DIMITROV, NIKOLA; FRČKOSKI, LJUBOMIR; HANDŽISKI, BLAGOJ; KERIM, SRGJAN; MALESKI, DENKO; MILOŠOSKI, ANTONIO; MITREVA, ILINKA; TUPURKOVSKI, VASIL. Refer to appendix A.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (FYROM). Provisional name by which the Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the **United Nations** in April 1993. FYROM is currently used by **Greece**, which refuses to recognize Macedonia as its neighbor's official name, and also by many international actors such as the **European Union**, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, and the Council of Europe. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

FRČKOSKI, LJUBOMIR DANAILOV (1957–). Politician, public intellectual, and professor of international law at **Skopje** University. Frckoski was a minister in the governments of **Nikola Kljusev** and **Branko Crvenkovski** (interior, 1992–1996; foreign affairs, 1996–1997). As interior minister, he directed the heavy-handed suppression of Albanian demonstrations in the **Skopje** area of Bit Pazar in 1992 as well as the closing down of the Albanian-language university near **Tetovo** in 1995. From 1999 to 2004, Frčkoski was an adviser to president **Boris Trajkovski**. He is a regular contributor to many public discussions in the pages of the Skopje press and the electronic media. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, STEVO; MALESKI, DENKO.

– G –

GARVANOV, IVAN (1868–1907). Political activist, leader of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**

(**IMARO**). Born in Stara Zagora (**Bulgaria**), Garvanov was introduced into the organization in 1896 by **Dame Gruev**. As president of the Central Committee, Garvanov convened in January 1903 a congress in **Salonica**, where he taught at the **Exarchist** high school. The congress resolved to launch an uprising in Macedonia and Thrace. The decision was later criticized as premature by both Garvanov's contemporaries and the historiography in Bulgaria and Yugoslav Macedonia. He was one of the staunchest opponents of **Jane Sandanski** in the squabbles dividing the IMARO after 1903. Garvanov was assassinated together with **Boris Sarafov** by Sandanski's loyalist **Todor Panica** in November 1907. *See also* ILINDEN UPRISING.

GEMIDŽII (BOATMEN). A group of **Salonica** anarchists, some of whom were students of the **Exarchist** high school. To raise international awareness about Macedonia's plight, in April 1903, the boatmen launched a series of dynamite attacks across the city, targeting hotels, restaurants, and cafés; the railway; the offices of Bank Ottoman; and the *Guadalquivir* steamer docked in the harbor. Most of the conspirators perished during the attacks. Survivors such as **Pavel Šatev** were sentenced to life imprisonment. The attacks, which led to heavy **Ottoman** repressions, were opposed by the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** leadership, but **Boris Sarafov** financed the group with a loan from the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. The boatmen attacks precipitated the **Ilinden Uprising** in the summer of the same year. A film titled *Solunskite atentatori* (The Salonica Assassins) was released in 1961 in Yugoslav Macedonia. The story was fictionalized in the 1930 novel *Robi* (Slaves) by the Bulgarian writer Anton Strašimirov (1872–1937), a former member of the IMARO.

GEORGIEVSKI, LJUBČO (1966–). Eminent public personality, politician, poet, and essayist. Born in **Štip**, Georgievski studied literature at **Skopje** University. He was among the founders of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unification (IMRO-DPMNU)** in 1990. Georgievski excelled as a passionate advocate for Macedonia's secession from the Yugoslav federation. His charismatic leadership was

long the hallmark of the party, which he chaired until 2003. Georgievski served as Macedonia's vice president for a short period after the proclamation of independence in 1991 but soon clashed with **Kiro Gligorov** and resigned. He also embraced a radical anti-Albanian rhetoric and questioned in several publications the standard historical narrative of the communist period anathematizing figures such as **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Ivan Mihajlov** (*see also* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS). Georgievski and the IMRO-DPMNU also boycotted the second round of the 1994 general elections in protest against alleged manipulations by the ruling **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**.

Georgievski led the IMRO-DPMNU to victory in the general elections of 1998. His term as prime minister was bedeviled by multiple corruption scandals linked with the **privatization** process as well as the crisis sparked off by the Albanian **National Liberation Army** in 2001. Georgievski also advocated a heavy-handed approach toward the rebels, which put him at odds with the international community as well as with president **Boris Trajkovski**. After losing the 2002 elections, Georgievski withdrew from the leadership of IMRO-DPMNU to form in July 2004 the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-People's Party (*Vnatršena makedonska revolucionerna organizacija-Narodna partija*), which he led until May 2007.

On several occasions, Georgievski declared his view about the necessity of partitioning the Republic of Macedonia to solve the Albanian issue in the country. In the summer of 2006 Georgievski provoked another controversy after it transpired that he had acquired **Bulgarian** citizenship. In the early 1990s, Georgievski was seen as Bulgarophile, and he contributed to the improvement of bilateral relations with **Sofia** in 1999. *See also* ALBANIANS; GRUEVSKI, NIKOLA; TRAJKOVSKI, BORIS; XHAFERI, ARBEN.

GEORGIEVSKI, LJUBIŠA (1937–). Playwright, intellectual, and political figure. Born in **Bitola**, Georgievski authored a number of dramas and became an established film and theater director. He was the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity's** presidential candidate in the 1994 elections. From 2000 to 2004, Georgievski served as ambassador to **Bulgaria**. In August 2006, he was elected

as a speaker of the Macedonian parliament. *See also* CINEMA; LITERATURE.

GERDŽIKOV, MIHAIL “MICHEL” (1877–1947). Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) leader, ideologue, and renowned anarchist born in Plovdiv (Bulgaria). After studies in Switzerland, Gerdžikov found employment as a teacher in Bitola in 1899 and was introduced to the IMARO by his friend **Goce Delčev**. He was active in the **Adrianople** district and led the **Ilinden Uprising** in the region. Gerdžikov’s memoirs represent an interesting testimony about the period.

Influenced by the ideas of anarchism, Gerdžikov became a prominent figure in the IMARO’s left. He was part of the organization’s Temporary Representation in 1919, a grouping of leftists, and one of the founders of **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** in Vienna. After a conflict with **Dimitar Vlahov**, Gerdžikov moved to Istanbul together with **Pavel Šatev** to set up another leftist faction speaking on behalf of the Macedonian movement. In 1934, he returned to Bulgaria. *See also* FEDERALISTS.

GIGOV, STRAHIL (1909–1999). Communist activist and Yugoslav official. Born in **Veles**, Gigov joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** at the age of 20. He was a member of the party’s Provincial Committee in **Vardar Macedonia** during the Bulgarian occupation from 1941 to 1944, took part in the **partisan movement**, and was a representative at the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia**. Gigov was a leading personality in the **Communist Party of Macedonia** since its establishment in 1943. There have been recent allegations that he was responsible for the killing of the communist poet **Kočo Racin** in the same year. After 1945, Gigov occupied several high-ranking positions, including republican minister of industry and mining, head of the syndicates’ association, and member of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia’s presidency. *See also* KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR.

GJUŽEL, BOGOMIL (1939–). Renowned Macedonian poet and translator, son of Dimitur Gjuzelov.

GJUZELOV, DIMITÛR (1902–1945). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist, political figure, and journalist. Born in Dojran, Gjuzelov joined the **Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization** in 1924 while attending the **Belgrade** University's branch in **Skopje**. At the student trial in 1927 he was sentenced to 20 years in prison, but he was pardoned in 1932 (see **MACEDONIAN YOUTH SECRET REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION**). After working in various parts of **Yugoslavia**, Gjuzelov returned to Skopje in April 1941 to become director of the local section of the Bulgarian Radio. Together with **Kiril Drangov** and **Dimitûr Ćkatrov**, Gjuzelov led the IMRO groups in **Vardar Macedonia** during the late 1930s and the early 1940s. He was sentenced to death by the communist authorities in 1945, despite the fact that **Metodija Andonov-Ćento** had invited him back in 1944 to join the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. *See also* GJUZEL, BOGOMIL.

GLAVINOV, VASIL (1868–1929). Socialist activist celebrated as one of the forefathers of the communist movement in Macedonia. A native of **Veles**, Glavinov was introduced to socialist ideas while he was a migrant worker in **Sofia** during the 1880s. In the 1890s, he edited a series of periodicals, and was active in the pan-Balkan socialist conferences. After the **Young Turk Revolution**, Glavinov edited the newspaper *Rabotniĉeska iskra* (Workers' Spark) and participated in a failed attempt to establish an Ottoman social democratic party. After the **Balkan Wars**, Glavinov settled in **Bulgaria**. *See also* KAREV, NIKOLA.

GLIGOROV, KIRO (1917–). Prominent politician, one of the architects of Macedonia's independence. Born in Novo Selo, a suburb of **Štip**, Gligorov was trained as a lawyer in **Belgrade**. During the Bulgarian occupation of **Vardar Macedonia**, Gligorov, known at the time as Kiril Blagoev Grigorov, took part in the communist resistance and was a member of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. After 1945, he pursued a high-profile career in Belgrade working as federal minister of finance, member of the Yugoslav presidency, and president of the federal assembly. He was a close collaborator and secretary to **Josip Broz**

Tito. In January 1991, Gligorov came back to **Skopje** to become president of Yugoslav Macedonia. He was reelected after independence on 19 November 1991, this time through direct elections. Gligorov won another mandate in 1994 and stayed in power until 1999.

Gligorov is credited with keeping Macedonia out of the mayhem seen in other parts of former **Yugoslavia** throughout the 1990s. In June 1991, he launched a joint proposal with the Bosnian president Alija Izetbegović to create a confederal commonwealth out of Yugoslavia's republics, which was not accepted by the other republics. On 21 February 1992, Gligorov signed with General Blagoje Adžić an agreement providing for the peaceful withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army into **Serbia**. Gligorov was also behind the compromise contained in the **Interim Accord** of September 1995, which normalized relations with **Greece**. He heralded a policy of "equidistance" toward all neighbors as a way to ensure stability.

Gligorov barely survived a car bomb attack in downtown Skopje on 3 October 1995. The perpetrators were never discovered despite the number of theories floated in the Macedonian press. He retired from politics after his second term in office and established a foundation named after him. In 2004–2005, Gligorov was a member of the international commission on the Balkans headed by former Italian premier Giuliano Amato. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, BRANKO; GLIGOROV, VLADIMIR; TRAJKOVSKI, BORIS.

GLIGOROV, VLADIMIR (1945–). Respected economist, political analyst, and liberal public intellectual from **Belgrade**. Son of **Kiro Gligorov**, Gligorov was one of the founders of the Democratic Party in **Serbia**. Affiliated with the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, he advised Macedonian president **Branko Crvenkovski**.

GOŠEV, PETAR (1948–). Politician born in Pirava near Valandovo, the last chairman of the **League of Communists of Macedonia** from 1989 to 1991. In 1993 Gošev founded the Democratic Party and later led the **Liberal Democratic Party**. He is currently the governor of the National Bank of Macedonia.

GOSTIVAR. Town in northwestern Macedonia, the region of **Polog**. According to the 2002 census, Gostivar is home to some 35,847 peo-

ple, of which 15,490 are **Albanians**, 14,285 **Macedonians**, and 3,559 **Turks**. *See also* TETOVO; URBANIZATION.

GOSTIVARI, XHEM HASA (1908–1945). Prominent Albanian commander in western Macedonia active during **World War II**. Gostivari was born in Simnica near **Gostivar**. After 1942, he led an armed campaign against the **partisan** detachments in the Italian occupation zone. Later his units merged with **Balli Kombëtar**. Gostivari was killed by the Yugoslav forces in May 1945.

GREECE. Relations between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece have been fraught since the early 1990s. In 1991–1992, the New Democracy government of Konstantinos Mitsotakis objected to the republic's independence and blocked its recognition by the **European Union (EU)**. Greece was concerned about the name of the republic, its chosen national symbols, and the reference to Macedonian minorities in neighboring states in the **constitution**. Owing to the Greek objections, Macedonia was admitted as a member of the **United Nations (UN)** in April 1993 under the provisional name of **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**. The crisis escalated in February 1994 when the socialist government of Andreas Papandreu imposed an economic embargo on Skopje, causing tensions inside the EU. A solution was found in September 1995 with the **Interim Accord** brokered by the UN envoy Matthew Nimetz and the United States, which ushered in a period of normalization.

The naming issue still lingers on. Successive Greek governments have proposed a “composite name” such as Upper Macedonia or New Macedonia. They have underscored the fact that **Vardar Macedonia** is only a fraction of the geographical region and therefore does not have an exclusive right over the name. Sociological data show, however, that Greek public opinion opposes any name that includes the word *Macedonia*. Several rounds of talks were conducted from 2005 to 2007 but did not generate any compromise formula. Greece threatened to veto Macedonia's entry into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the EU. Tensions peaked as the government of Konstantinos Karamanlis imposed a veto on Macedonia's entry into NATO at the Bucharest summit in April 2008.

In the 2000s, the economic relations between the two countries

flourished, with Greek capital and goods pouring across the border. Major Greek companies such as OTE, Hellenic Petroleum, Titan, and Mihailidis were involved in the **privatization** of public enterprises and established themselves in sectors such as tobacco processing, energy, banking, telecommunications, and others. According to sources in Athens, the overall Greek investment in Macedonia in 2007 stood at one billion euro, some 60 percent of the total inflows in the country. Macedonia also benefited from Greek initiatives for encouraging the EU enlargement toward the Balkans, such as the summit in **Salonica** in June 2003.

Economic normalization has led to an improved political relationship, despite the unabating nationalist sensitivities of Greeks in the northern provinces regarding the **Macedonian Question** and the persistence of the name issue. Since 2003, Slavic Macedonian refugees from the **Greek Civil War** were allowed to visit their native villages, while the **Rainbow Party** established by Slavic activists from **Aegean Macedonia** participated in Greek elections. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN POLICY; STAR OF VERGINA.

GREEK CIVIL WAR (*EMFYLIOS POLEMOS*). Conflict between the communist-dominated **Democratic Army of Greece (DAG)**, supported by the Soviet Union and the Balkan communist countries, and the government in Athens backed by the **United States** and Great Britain. Many of the DAG fighters were Slavic Macedonians, formerly associated with the **Slavo-Macedonian People's Liberation Front**. By the end of the conflict, they accounted for more than half of the 20,000-strong communist troops. Greek communists partially accepted the idea of united Macedonia within a Balkan federation that was to include Slav-inhabited territories. While winning them sympathies in the districts of Castoria/Kostur, Florina/Lerin, and Edhessa/Voden, this stance made Greek communists vulnerable to criticisms by the right wing accusing them of national treason.

In early 1949, the Greek Communist Party sided with Joseph Stalin in the dispute with **Yugoslavia** (*see* COMINFORM). As a result, **Josip Broz Tito** closed in July the camps in **Vardar Macedonia**, cutting the lifeline for the Greek guerrillas who were already under heavy pressure from the government troops bolstered by U.S. military aid. In the following months, they inflicted a heavy defeat on the

DAG in the battle of Grammos and forced it into retreat across the border with **Albania**. The Greek Civil War devastated many areas in **Aegean Macedonia** and spurred **emigration** from the region into the socialist bloc countries, North America, and Australia. It included 28,000 children between the ages of two and fourteen evacuated by the DAG in 1948 into Yugoslavia and Albania, the majority of whom were Macedonian Slavs. *See also* AEGEANS; EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA; GREECE.

GRUEV, DAMJAN (DAME) (1871–1907). Political activist, prominent leader of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**. Born in Smilevo near **Bitola**, he attended the Bulgarian High School in **Salonica**, which he soon left as a result of a student revolt. Gruev transferred, for a brief period, to **Belgrade**, attracted by a government scholarship, but later moved to **Sofia** to study history at the university. There he collaborated with the **Young Macedonian Literary Company**. In 1891, Gruev returned to Macedonia employed by the **Bulgarian Exarchate** as a teacher in his native village, Bitola, and Salonica. In 1893 he was among the founding members of the IMARO.

Gruev established himself as a figure of considerable authority. In the following years he founded a network of local committees in **Priplep**, Bitola, **Ohrid**, and **Štip**, and the surrounding villages. He also edited *Vŭstanik* (Rebel), the IMARO's first newspaper. During the school year of 1894–1895, Gruev introduced to the organization **Goce Delčev**, a fellow teacher at the **Exarchist** school in Novo Selo near Štip. The duo dominated the first congress of the IMARO in 1896, which drafted the organization's statutes and elaborated its goals and ideology.

Arrested by the Ottoman police in 1900, Gruev spent three years in exile in Bodrum Kale, Asia Minor. After his release in April 1903, he endorsed the plans for a mass insurrection and did his best to convince the skeptical Delčev. Together with **Boris Sarafov**, Gruev decided to launch the uprising on Prophet Elijah's Day (Ilinden). During the hostilities, Gruev directed, along with Sarafov and **Anastas Lozančev**, the rebels' headquarters in his native Smilevo. After the defeat he tried to bridge the opening rift between the right and the left wing within the organization, but gravitated toward the for-

mer faction. Gruev mediated between the two at the Rila Monastery in 1905, but his efforts bore no fruit as he fell in a skirmish with Ottoman troops in December 1907. *See also* ILINDEN UPRISING.

GRUEVSKI, NIKOLA (1970–). High-profile politician and banker. Gruevski was born in **Skopje**. After periods at the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, he served as finance minister in the government of **Ljubčo Georgievski**. Gruevski was elected as leader of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)** in 2003 and emerged as a modernizing force within the party, opposed to the hard-line nationalism of Georgievski. After the parliamentary elections in July 2006, Gruevski headed the new government that promised to implement radical economic and institutional reforms aimed at spurring growth and generating foreign investment. Like his predecessor Georgievski, he opted for a coalition with the **Democratic Party of Albanians**, precipitating protests and a parliamentary boycott by the **Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)**, the strongest Albanian party in the country. In 2007–2008, Gruevski shifted to populist and nationalism-driven political rhetoric in connection with the so-called name issue polarizing Skopje and Athens (*see* FOREIGN POLICY; GREECE). Though this choice put a barrier to Macedonia's entry into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, it helped the IMRO-DPMNU achieve an overwhelming victory at the early parliamentary elections in June 2008. Following the victory, Gruevski negotiated a coalition cabinet with **Ali Ahmeti** of the DUI, once dismissed by the IMRO-DPMNU as a terrorist organization. *See also* MILOŠOSKI, ANTONIO; STAVRESKI, ZORAN.

GULI, PITU (ca. 1865–1903). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** commander of **Vlach** origin celebrated as one of the heroes of the **Ilinden Uprising**. Guli was a band member from the early 1880s. He was captured and exiled to eastern Anatolia for a period of eight years. Upon his return to **Kruševo**, Guli joined the IMARO in 1895. He settled in **Sofia** in 1900 to return to Macedonia three years later as a **četa** leader. During the Ilinden Uprising in 1903, Guli played a central part in the Kruševo

republic. He perished in a battle against the **Ottoman** forces in the *Mečkin kamen* (Bear's Stone) locality outside the town. His death was mythologized in **Bulgaria** and later in Yugoslav Macedonia.

Guli's sons were involved in the IM(A)RO too. Taško Guli died while fighting in the Bulgarian army in 1918, while Nikola Guli was a close associate of **Todor Aleksandrov**. The third son, Sterjo, took part in the counterinsurgent units formed by the Bulgarian authorities in **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II** to fight the communist **partisans**. He allegedly committed suicide when the partisans entered Kruševo in 1944.

– H –

HADŽIDIMOV, DIMO (1875–1924). Political activist, socialist ideologue, key figure in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** and the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**. Hadžidimov was born in Gorno Brodi near Serres. He was introduced to the Macedonian movement by **Goce Delčev** and **Jane Sandanski** while working as a teacher in Dupnica. Influenced by Marxism, Hadžidimov joined in 1901 the radical (“narrow”) stream of the Bulgarian Workers Socialist Party. After the **Ilinden Uprising**, Hadžidimov put forward the idea of decentralizing the IMARO into a federation of revolutionary districts, each running its own affairs. This program influenced his patron Jane Sandanski. It gained prominence at the organization's Rila congress in October 1905, which appointed Hadžidimov as editor-in-chief of *Revoljucionen list* (Revolutionary Sheet), the IMARO's organ.

In 1908, Hadžidimov became the chief ideologist of the People's Federative Party (*see* **FEDERALISTS**). Following **World War I**, Hadžidimov was elected to the **Bulgarian** parliament as a member of the BCP and in 1924 he joined the party's Central Committee. Part of the BCP-sponsored **Emigrant Communist Union “Liberation,”** Hadžidimov published the pamphlet *Nazad kŭm avtonomijata* (Back to Autonomy), which advocated the creation of a Macedonian republic within a Balkan federation but still portrayed the Macedonian Slavs as Bulgarians (*see* **MACEDONIAN QUESTION**). He was murdered in September 1924 on the orders of **Ivan Mihajlov** and

Aleksandŭr Protogerov. *See also* KANTARDŽIEV, ČUDOMIR; PANICA, TODOR.

HADŽIKONSTANTINOV, JORDAN “DŽINOT” (ca. 1818–1882).

Eminent 19th-century educator and writer. A colorful personality known by the sobriquet *Džino(t)* (the Gene), Hadžikonstantinov was a schoolteacher in his native town of **Veles** and in **Skopje** in the 1840s and 1850s. Due to his persistent conflict with the **Constantinople Patriarchate**’s prelates, he was accused of conspiring with the Serbian state as well as with Bulgarian national activists based in **Belgrade** and exiled to Asia Minor from 1861 to 1863.

An autodidact, Hadžikonstantinov published, in Serbian periodicals, medieval texts that he had discovered in his travels across Macedonia. A fervent pro-**Bulgarian**, he also contributed articles to the *Carigradski vestnik* (Constantinople Herald), one of the principal Bulgarian dailies published in the **Ottoman Empire**. His particular interest was the history and ethnography of Slavs. Hadžikonstantinov believed Bulgarians in Macedonia and elsewhere to be direct descendants of the Thracians and the Illyrians. Džinot authored many poems, collections of aphorisms, and dramas. *See also* FOLKLORE; LITERATURE.

HADŽINIKOLOV, IVAN (1861–1934). Political activist and educator born in Kukuš (Kilkis). After graduating from a commercial college in Linz (Austria-Hungary), Hadžinikolov was a schoolteacher in various towns across southern Macedonia and in the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica**. In the autumn of 1893, the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** was established in his bookshop. As a member of the Central Committee, Hadžinikolov was arrested by the **Ottoman** police in 1901 and exiled to Bodrum in Asia Minor together with **Damjan Gruev** and others. After the Porte issued an amnesty in the spring of 1903 he settled in **Sofia**. *See also* BATANDŽIEV, HRISTO; DIMITROV, ANDON; POPARSOV, PETŬR; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

HADŽIVASILEV, MITO “JASMIN” (1922–1968). Communist functionary and journalist. Born in Kavadarci, Hadživasilev joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** as a law student at the Univer-

sity of **Belgrade**. During the latter stages of the **partisan** resistance in 1943–1944, he was a high-ranking political officer in the **Bitola** region. After 1945, Hadživasilev occupied a number of top government and party positions, including editor-in-chief of *Nova Makedonija*, member of the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Macedonia**, and speaker of the republican assembly. *See also* KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR; MOJSOV, LAZAR.

HALILI, NEVZAT (1951–). Macedonian Albanian politician born in Džepčište near **Tetovo**. A teacher of French by profession, Halili was first elected to the Macedonian parliament in 1991 from the **Party for Democratic Prosperity**. In an open letter to president **Kiro Gligorov** in 1993, Halili argued that the Macedonian **Albanians** were discriminated against in the state administration and the public sector. He was a minister without portfolio in the second government of **Branko Crvenkovski** (1994–1998). In 2001, Halili joined the National Democratic Party established by Kastriot Haxhirexha. His name was later linked with several paramilitary organizations campaigning for the unification of Albanian-populated territories in the Balkans. Halili was arrested in 2006 in Prishtina on suspicions of arms trafficking, but he was released after eight months in custody. *See also* ALITI, ABDURAHMAN; IMERI, IMER.

HANDŽISKI, BLAGOJ (1948–). Senior politician and diplomat. Handžiski was born in Vladimirovo, near Berovo. During the 1980s, he was a professor of engineering and physics. Handžiski was also a member of the Central Committee of the **League of Communists of Yugoslavia** and after 1991 represented in parliament the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDAM)**. Handžiski served as secretary general of the party from 1992 to 1995 and headed the Defense Ministry (1994–1997) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1997–1998) in the second SDAM government. In 2003, he was appointed ambassador to **Greece**. *See also* CRVENKOVSKI, STEVO; FRČKOSKI, LJUBOMIR.

HILMI PAŞA, HÜSEYİN (1855–1922). Hilmi Paşa was a high-ranking **Ottoman** administrator born in Mytilini (the island of Lesbos). From 1902 to 1908, he served as the inspector general of the three

Macedonian *vilâyets* charged with overseeing the administrative reforms in “Turkey in Europe.” He directed in the suppression of the **Ilinden Uprising** and afterward managed the international aid to the areas affected by the revolt. In 1904, Hilmi Pasa organized a census of Macedonia’s population and overlooked the implementation of the abortive **Mürzsteg Reforms**. After the **Young Turk Revolution** Hilmi Pasa became a grand vizier for a year. At the end of his career, he was also the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna.

– I –

ILIEVA, VASKA (1927–2001). Celebrated folk music singer. Coming from Čair, a historic quarter of **Skopje**, Ilieva had a long career with the Tanec (Dance) ensemble. She became the most popular female performer of Macedonian folk songs in **Yugoslavia**, in **Bulgaria**, and also among the **diaspora** in Australia, where she toured on many occasions. Known as the “queen of Macedonian music,” Ilieva famously sang a number of *patriotski pesni* (patriotic songs) in the years preceding the 1991 independence. *See also* FOLKLORE; MUSIC.

ILINDEN ORGANIZATION. Veteran organization established in **Sofia** in 1921 with branches in various parts of **Bulgaria**. It engaged in various welfare, educational, and publication activities. In 1924, the organization’s leaders, Georgi Zankov and **Arseni Jovkov** (editor of the *Ilinden* newspaper), sided with the left wing within the Macedonian movement. Jovkov was murdered by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**, and Zankov sought refuge in Vienna. The organization came under **Ivan Mihajlov**’s control until 1934, when the IMRO was abolished by the Bulgarian authorities. Between 1927 and 1944, it published the *Ilustracija Ilinden* journal, a valuable source of information about the IMRO’s history. It was also active in **Vardar Macedonia** from 1941 to 1944 and organized commemorations of the **Ilinden Uprising** and the IMRO, involving many of the former band members and commanders.

ILINDEN UPRISING (ILINDEN-PREOBRAŽENIE UPRISING).

The decision to stage the Ilinden Uprising was taken in January 1903

at an extraordinary **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** congress held in **Salonica**. The aim was to trigger an intervention by the great powers and win autonomy status for Macedonia and the **Adrianople vilâyet**, similar to the one already enjoyed by Crete. There was a sense of urgency, as the **Ottoman** authorities were threatening to destroy the organization's infrastructure in the wake of the failed 1902 insurgency in the Struma valley by the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. Supported by **Damjan Gruev**, **Boris Sarafov**, **Ivan Garvanov**, and others, the plan was opposed by respected leaders such as **Goce Delčev**, **Hristo Černopeev**, and **Jane Sandanski**, who were in favor of a more limited guerrilla campaign.

The uprising was launched on 20 July, Prophet Elijah's Day (*Ilinden*, 2 August according to the Gregorian calendar), in the **Bitola** revolutionary district. Two weeks later, on the feast of Transfiguration (*Preobraženie*), it spread to the mountain of Strandža, north of Istanbul. Guerrillas and village militias, numbering some 20,000 people, captured the **Vlach**-populated mountain towns of **Kruševo**, **Klisura**, and **Neveska** (Nymfeon) in Macedonia as well as **Vasiliko** (present-day Carevo) and **Ahtopol** (Agathopolis) on the Thracian Black Sea coast. Commanded by **Boris Sarafov** and **Damjan Gruev** in the Bitola region and **Mihail Gerdžikov**, **Georgi Kondolov**, **Stamat Ikonomov**, and **Lazar Madžarov** in Thrace, the rebels breached key railway, road, and telegraph communications with Salonica and Istanbul. According to the plan, the **Strumica**, **Skopje**, **Salonica**, and **Serres** districts engaged solely in guerrilla operations. In both **Kruševo** and **Strandža**, local commanders such as **Nikola Karev** and **Gerdžikov**, influenced by socialist and anarchist ideas, proclaimed republics based on equal representation for all ethnic and confessional groups. These proved short-lived as an Ottoman counteroffensive involving more than 150,000-strong regular and irregular troops managed to recapture all major urban centers held by the rebels by the latter half of August. Skirmishes continued until October.

The insurgency had a devastating effect on Macedonia and the Adrianople region. An IMARO memorandum issued in 1904 contained the following grim statistics: 5,000 casualties, 205 villages burned down, 70,000 homeless, 30,000 refugees to **Bulgaria** and the **United States**. The defeat resulted in the IMARO's, as well as the

Bulgarian Exarchate's, relative loss of power. It opened the way for Greek and Serb irregulars challenging its authority in various parts of rural Macedonia (see MELAS, PAVLOS; SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION). While the revolt did raise concern in the European capitals, the response by the great powers was limited (see MÜRZSTEG REFORMS).

Ilinden left a durable trace in popular memories. It was commemorated by the **diaspora** in Bulgaria and all factions within the IMARO. A veteran organization was established in 1921. The communist poet **Nikola Vapcarov** wrote an ode. In the late 1930s, communists in **Vardar Macedonia** organized commemorations, defying the ban by the Serb authorities. Celebrations were institutionalized following the region's annexation by Bulgaria in April 1941. For their part, the **partisans** chose 2 August 1944, the anniversary of the uprising, for the first session of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. The "Second Ilinden" proclaimed the establishment of a Macedonian republic within **Yugoslavia**, seeking continuity with the IMARO struggles at the turn of the century. The communists also continued the practice of granting pensions to Ilinden veterans originally instituted by the Bulgarian authorities.

The Ilinden Uprising is celebrated in both the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria as the culmination of the respective nations' struggle against Ottoman rule. There are multiple references to Ilinden and its leaders in Macedonia's national anthem *Denes nad Makedonija* (Today over Macedonia). Over the years, the insurrection has been the subject of many works of fiction, films, and TV series produced in both countries (see CINEMA). The "ownership" of Ilinden is, therefore, still a divisive issue. Calls for joint celebrations such as the one issued in 2006 by Macedonian prime minister **Vlado Bučkovski** and his Bulgarian counterpart Sergej Stanišev, whose father was born near Strumica, did little to change this state of affairs. See also ILINDEN ORGANIZATION.

ILJOSKI, VASIL (1900–1995). Playwright and writer. Born in **Kruševo**, Iljoski was educated at the **Belgrade** University's branch in **Skopje**. In the interwar period, he authored a number of plays in Macedonian dialect that were performed in Skopje. Iljoski was also a member of the commissions for the standardization of the **Macedo-**

nian language after 1945 as well as of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. *See also* KRLE, RISTO; PANOV, ANTON.

IMERI, IMER (1942–). Macedonian Albanian politician, leader of the **Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)**. Born in Čegране near **Gostivar**, Imeri was educated at Prishtina University's medical faculty in 1975–1981 (*see* KOSOVO). He worked as a doctor in Prishtina until 1989, when he settled in Macedonia. Imeri served as deputy health minister in 1993. Elected president of the PDP in 2000, he was a signatory of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**. *See also* ALITI, ABDURAHMAN; HALILI, NEVZAT.

INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES (SALONICA) (IDRYMA MELETON TOU HERSONISOU TOU EMOU). Research institution founded in March 1953 in **Salonica** as an outgrowth of the Society for Macedonian Studies. Known by its acronym IMXA, the institute is the leading Greek center researching the history of the Balkans and the region of Macedonia. It has involved some of the country's best-known authorities on the **Macedonian Question**, such as Evangelos Kofos, Vassilis (Basil) Kondis, Ioannis (John) Koliopoulos, Vassilis Gounaris, and Spyridon Sfetas. Apart from its bi-annual journal *Balkan Studies*, IMXA has published more than 300 monographs and collective volumes. The subjects covered include the Greek cultural presence in modern Macedonia, the diplomatic history of the Balkans, and the Bulgarian-Greek rivalry for the national allegiance of the Macedonian Slavs in the 1900s (the so-called Macedonian Struggle). IMXA cooperates with a range of academic counterparts in the neighboring countries, notably the Balkan studies institutes in **Sofia**, **Belgrade**, and Bucharest as well as with the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in **Bulgaria**. *See also* GREECE.

INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL HISTORY (INSTITUT ZA NACIONALNA ISTORIJA). Public institution based in **Skopje** and dedicated to the study of the history of Macedonia, both the republic and the wider region. The Institute for National History was established in 1948 by a decree of the republican government. It coined a powerful national narrative portraying the Macedonian Slavs ("the Macedonian People," *makedonski narod*) as an ethnic group with a

particular history and identity, setting them apart from their neighbors (*see* MACEDONIAN QUESTION). Since 1957 the institute issues its periodical *Glasnik* (Bulletin) featuring articles by all notable Yugoslav Macedonian historians. It has also published numerous monographs, edited volumes, document collections, and conference proceedings. The focus is on Macedonia's medieval past, the **Ottoman** period and especially the late 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**, and the **partisan movement** during **World War II**. In 1969, the institute released the three-volume *History of the Macedonian People* edited by **Mihajlo Apostolski**, and in 2000 a historical dictionary written by a team of leading historians. The institute is currently directed by Todor Čepreganov, who succeeded Novica Veljanovski at the post. *See also* BITOSKI, KRSTE; KATARDŽIEV, IVAN; PANDEVSKI, MANOL; REVISIONIST HISTORIANS.

INTERIM ACCORD. Agreement signed by foreign ministers Karolos Papoulias of **Greece** and **Stevo Crvenkovski** of the Republic of Macedonia in New York on 13 September 1995. It called for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states and the continued application of the bilateral conventions concluded between **Yugoslavia** and Greece. The two states recognized the inviolability of their mutual border and each other's sovereignty, and committed to limit hostile propaganda. The agreement deferred the solution of the Macedonian name issue. However, talks have lasted more than a decade, despite the efforts of international mediators such as Cyrus Vance and, after 1999, Matthew Nimetz. *See also* FLAG; FOREIGN POLICY; STAR OF VERGINA; UNITED NATIONS.

INTERNAL MACEDONO-ADRIANOPOLITAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (VŮTREŠNA MAKEDONO-ODRINSKA REVOLJUCIONNA ORGANIZACIJA). *See* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IMRO; VŮTREŠNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLJUCIONNA ORGANIZACIJA). The IMRO was established in October 1893 in **Salonica** by Dr. **Hristo Tatarčev**, **Damjan Gruev**, **Petar**

Poparsov, and several other activists under the name Bulgarian Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee (*Bŭlgarski makedono-odriniski revoljucionen komitet*). Scholars believe that it adopted the name Secret Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization in 1896 or in 1902, to become the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** after 1903. The organization's goal was the autonomy of Macedonia and the *vilâyet* of **Adrianople** on the basis of Article 23 of the **Berlin Treaty**. Although it enlisted support almost exclusively from the **Ex-archist** population, the IMARO sought to co-opt all other ethnic and religious groups in the two provinces, and its statute drafted in 1896 by **Goce Delčev** and **Gjorče Petrov** called for a common front of "all discontent elements" against **Ottoman** domination. This attracted some Slavs and **Vlachs** loyal to the **Constantinople Patriarchate**, not least thanks to the efforts of charismatic leaders like Delčev. The IMARO also cooperated closely with the Armenian Revolutionary Organization (known as *T/Dashnagtsiutun*), whose leader, Christapor Mikaelian, was killed in 1905 during an accident at a makeshift bomb-making workshop in **Bulgaria**, near the Ottoman border.

In the latter half of the 1890s, the IMARO established a dense network of local committees, mobile guerrilla bands (*see* ČETA), and undercover operatives over the two provinces. Macedonia and the Adrianople *vilâyet* were divided into six revolutionary districts (*revoljucionni okrŭzi*): Salonica, **Bitola**, **Skopje**, **Strumica**, Serres, and Adrianople, each governed by a hierarchy of representative and executive bodies. Its activities were backed up by the increasingly influential Macedonian and Thracian **diaspora** in the Bulgarian Principality, which provided money, weapons, and recruits. In many remote areas, the organization's leadership was a *de facto* local government in the absence of Ottoman administrators and judges. Some of the commanders were former warlords like the legendary Apostol "the Sun of Yenice Vardar" Petkov Terziev (1869–1911) or Jordan Siljanov-Piperkata (1870–1903), active in the **Kičevo** area; other **Ex-archist** teachers; and former Bulgarian army officers. The IMARO also exerted influence over the school network of the **Bulgarian Ex-archate**. This led to conflicts with the conservative high clergy, which did not approve of the organization's revolutionary methods

and left-wing rhetoric. Another challenge was posed by the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)**'s *četas* infiltrating Ottoman territory from Bulgaria. Though in the 1890s the two organizations collaborated, they soon found themselves competing for power, and there were a number of skirmishes between bands loyal to the SMAC and the IMARO.

The growing strength of the IMARO paved the way to the **Ilinden Uprising** in the summer of 1903. Its defeat by the Ottoman authorities, however, opened a rift in the organization, which was divided between a centralist faction led by **Hristo Matov** and Damjan Gruev, wary of the encroachments of the Serbian and Greek armed bands, and a left-wing group around **Jane Sandanski** and **Gjorče Petrov**, upholding the idea of joint struggle by all inhabitants of Macedonia and Thrace against the despotic rule of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The internecine squabbles culminated in the 1907 assassination of the IMARO's Foreign Representation members **Boris Sarafov** and **Ivan Garvanov**, as well as of Mihail Daev, ordered by Sandanski. After the **Young Turk Revolution**, the two streams partially disarmed and founded separate legal **political parties**, the Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs (right wing) and the People's Federative Party (*see* **FEDERALISTS**). Disillusionment with the new regime led to the renewal of guerrilla activities. During the First **Balkan War**, the IMARO irregulars fought side by side with the Balkan states' armies against the Ottomans. During the Second Balkan War, the bands fought against the Greek and Serb forces and launched two insurgencies in the **Tikveš** area (June 1913) and around **Ohrid** and **Debar** (September 1913). Later IMARO leaders such as **Todor Aleksandrov** lobbied Bulgaria to join **World War I** on the side of the Central Powers.

The IMARO was reestablished in 1919 under the name Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, or IMRO. Adrianopole was not part of its operations following the expulsion of the local Bulgarians in the summer of 1913, but the IMRO supported the so-called Internal Thracian Revolutionary Organization active between 1920 and 1924 in the Greek province of Western Thrace. The IMRO was led by Todor Aleksandrov and General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**, who succeeded in eliminating their rivals on the left. The organization campaigned for the unification of the three parts of Macedonia into a multinational state. From its stronghold in Bulgarian-held

Pirin Macedonia, it led a guerrilla campaign against the Serb-dominated Yugoslav police and army on the left bank of the **Vardar** River. Among the targets were also the numerous Serb colonists settled in the rural areas, which provoked numerous reprisals by the gendarmerie and the armed units stationed in the border areas (see KALAMATIJEVIĆ, MIHAİLO; LAZIĆ, ŽIVOJIN). The IMRO co-operated with other separatist movements within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, notably with the Kosovar **Albanians** (see PRISHTINA, HASAN), as well as with revisionist states such as Benito Mussolini's Italy and Weimar Germany. It established several academic and lobbyist bodies such as the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in **Sofia** and the Macedonian Political (later "Patriotic") Organization in the **United States** and Canada.

In Bulgaria, the IMRO was bitterly opposed to **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski**'s pro-Yugoslav government. In June 1923, Macedonian guerrillas backed the military coup toppling Stambolijski, but frustration with the new government's continuation of the policy of *rapprochement* with Belgrade induced Aleksandrov and Protogerov to seek support from the Soviet Union. For their part, the leaders in Moscow saw the IMRO as an asset in their efforts to export proletarian revolution. The *rapprochement* ushered in a new round of power struggles, which cost the life of Aleksandrov after his withdrawal from the **May Manifesto** pledging cooperation with the Comintern. Aleksandrov's successors, **Ivan Mihajlov** and Protogerov, carried out violent purges against the murderers as well as against the left wing within the Macedonian movement. They renewed the campaign against the Serb authorities using terrorist methods rather than guerrilla incursions. Soon the organization split into two rival camps headed by Mihajlov and Protogerov, waging a turf war in the streets of Sofia and other major Bulgarian towns in the late 1920s and early 1930s (see MIHAJLOVISTS; PROTOGEROVISTS). After a military coup in May 1934, the Bulgarian authorities banned the organization's military and legal structures and seized control over its former stronghold of Pirin Macedonia. The IMRO resurfaced briefly in October 1934 when the organization helped the Croatian *Ustaše* to assassinate King **Aleksandar Karadjordjević** of **Yugoslavia** (see ČERNOZEMSKI, VLADO).

Prominent personalities affiliated with the IMRO remained politi-

cally active in both **Bulgaria** and Yugoslav Macedonia. While key supporters of Protogerov ultimately joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party**, the **Mihajlovists** collaborated with the Bulgarian occupation authorities in the **Vardar** region from 1941 to 1944 and later opposed Macedonia's integration into **Josip Broz Tito's** Yugoslavia. In the period 1945 to 1950, several proindependence groups operated in Yugoslav Macedonia, including the Democratic Front "Ilinden 1903," the IMRO-Independent Democratic Republic of Macedonia under the Protectorate of America, and the IMRO-Pravda (Truth). These were destroyed by the communist authorities and the secret police (*see* OZNA). In March 1947, a **Skopje** court sentenced seven high-profile public figures to death and a further six to long-term imprisonment, finding the defendants guilty of restoring the IMRO in the republic (*see* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS). A similar trial was held also in Bulgaria in 1946.

In the 1990s, the IMRO's legacy was claimed by a number of groups, notably the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** in the Republic of Macedonia and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies**, successor of the interwar Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in Bulgaria.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION-DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR MACEDONIAN NATIONAL UNITY (IMRO-DPMNU; VNATREŠNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLUCIONERNA ORGANIZACIJA-DEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA ZA MAKEDONSKO NACIONALNO EDINSTVO). Major political party in the Republic of Macedonia established in August 1990 with **Ljubčo Georgievski** as its leader. The party campaigned for secession from **Yugoslavia** and considered itself an heir to the right-wing **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** of the interwar years and the proindependence activists of the post-1944 period. Its first congress in 1991 was named ninth, its predecessor being the eighth IMRO congress convened by **Ivan Mihajlov** in 1932. The party also claimed continuity with the interwar Macedonian left. Its journal was named *Makedonsko delo* (Macedonian Cause), a reference to a publication of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**. The IMRO-

DPMNU won the highest share of votes in the legislative elections of 1991. However, it failed to form a government because of its refusal to coalesce with an Albanian party. It also boycotted the second round of the elections in 1994, blaming the authorities for electoral fraud.

The IMRO-DPMNU came to power after the elections in 1998, forming a coalition with the **Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)** and the **Democratic Alternative**. In 1999, its member **Boris Trajkovski**, deputy foreign minister, was elected as president. The party was in opposition from 2002 to 2006, coming back to Macedonia's helm in the summer of 2006 with 32 percent of the popular vote, winning 45 out of 120 seats in the national parliament.

In the 1990s, the IMRO-DPMNU was regarded as a proponent of anti-Albanian nationalism and irredentism targeting the neighboring countries. At the same time, high-profile figures associated with the party, such as **Dosta Dimovska**, were widely suspected of pro-Bulgarian sympathies. The coalition deal with the DPA was an attempt to shed the stigma of radicalism, but the conflict of 2001 saw the IMRO-DPMNU drifting toward a hard-line position vis-à-vis the Albanian community's demands (*see* BOŠKOVSKI, LJUBE). After the election of **Nikola Gruevski** to the chairman's position in 2003, the party strove to adopt a pro-reform, modernizing profile. Some of the more radical members around **Ljubčo Georgievski** left in 2004 to form the IMRO-People's Party. In recognition of its moderate stance, the IMRO-DPMNU was admitted into the European People's Party in 2007. As the name dispute with **Greece** escalated in 2007 and 2008, Gruevski reverted to a populist and nationalist rhetoric. This choice paid off at the early elections in June 2008, which saw the IMRO-DPMNU and its coalition partners, including parties representing the **Serb** and **Roma** communities, gain 63 mandates in parliament, enabling Gruevski to form a new government. This time the coalition partner on the Albanian side was the **Democratic Union for Integration**, previously dismissed by the IMRO-DPMNU's leadership and the rank-and-file as a "terrorist organization." *See also* BOŠKOVSKI, LJUBE; GEORGIEVSKI, LJUBIŠA; MILOŠOSKI, ANTONIO; POLITICAL PARTIES; STAVRESKI, ZORAN.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION–UNION OF MACEDONIAN SOCIETIES (IMRO-UMS;

VŮTREŠNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLJUCIONNA ORGANIZACIJA-SŮJUŽ NA MAKEDONSKITE DRUŽESTVA). **Bulgarian** nationalist organization established in 1990 by descendants of the Macedonian émigrés. The IMRO-UMS was based on the restored Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in **Sofia**, **Pirin Macedonia**, and some major Bulgarian cities. The organization promoted the idea of the Macedonian Slavs as part of the Bulgarian nation and of the Republic of Macedonia as a second Bulgarian state. The IMRO-UMS also restored the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** and cultivated links with activists in Macedonia, including within the ranks of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**, and the **diaspora**. After 1994, the IMRO-UMS became politically active and entered the Bulgarian parliament. Renamed IMRO-Bulgarian National Movement in 1998, the organization gradually transformed into a right-wing populist political party in the 2000s under the leadership of Krasimir Karakačanov (b. 1965).

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (UNITED) (VŮTREŠNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLJUCIONNA ORGANIZACIJA [OBEDINENA]). Organization established in Vienna in October 1925 by left-wing activists such as **Dimitar Vlahov**; **Pavel Šatev**; **Georgi Zankov**, former leader of the **Ilinden Organization**; **Vladimir Poptomov**; **Slave Ivanov**; and **Hristo Jankov**. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United), or IMRO-U, supported the Comintern policy in the Balkans spelled out in the **May Manifesto** of 1924, and pursued the unification of the three parts of Macedonia in the framework of a Balkan federation. Its publications, notably the *Makedonsko delo* (Macedonian Cause) newspaper, attacked even-handedly the governments in **Greece**, **Yugoslavia**, and **Bulgaria**, and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** commanded by **Ivan Mihajlov** and **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**.

Considered an offshoot of the **Bulgarian Communist Party**, the IMRO-U was influential among the left-leaning Macedonian **diaspora** in **Sofia** but was less successful in enlisting support in **Pirin**, **Vardar**, or **Aegean Macedonia**. In the 1930s, the IMRO-U relocated to Berlin while a small group around **Mihail Gerdžikov**, **Pavel**

Šatev, Filip Atanasov, and Georgi Zankov, all former members of the **federalist** wing in the Macedonian movement, was active in Istanbul until 1931.

Although in the 1920s the IMRO-U routinely used the term *Macedonian Bulgarians*, by the early 1930s it embraced the view that Macedonia's Slavs constituted a separate nation (*see* MACEDONISM). That stance was in line with a resolution adopted by the Comintern's executive in 1934. IMRO-U activists defended it when they were put on trial by the military government in Sofia in 1935. After Bulgaria annexed most of Vardar Macedonia in May 1941, however, old IMRO-U cadres like **Metodi Šatorov** supported the affiliation of local communists to the Bulgarian Communist Party rather than the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** led by **Josip Broz Tito** (*see* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA). Activists linked with the IMRO-U, such as **Panko Brašnarov** and Pavel Šatev, played a key role in the early stages of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** in 1944. Yet in the following years, they were purged due to their loyalty to the Soviet Union and past connections with the Bulgarian communists (*see* COMINFORM).

ISA BEG. Ottoman ruler of **Skopje** in the period 1444–1463, succeeding his father, **Ishak Beg**. Isa Beg commissioned and financed the construction of an architectural complex including a big mosque, a school (*medrese*), a library, a welfare institution, and a public canteen (*imaret*). The ensemble was completed in 1476, a decade after Isa Beg's reappointment as a governor of newly conquered Bosnia. *See also* MUSTAFA PAŠA.

ISHAK BEG. Ottoman ruler of **Skopje**, 1414–1444. Ishak Beg was the son of Yiğit Beg, the conqueror of Skopje. He commissioned a large mosque complex named after him, which was completed in 1439. The mosque was maintained by a charitable foundation (*vakif*) that owned swathes of land around Skopje. *See also* ISA BEG; MUSTAFA PAŠA.

ISLAM. Islam spread in Macedonia with the incorporation into the **Ottoman Empire** in the late 14th century. In the empire, the Sunni

form of Islam was a source of legitimacy for the dynasty's power over the realm and also blended diverse populations into a community. As elsewhere in the Balkans, the **religion** made important advances in the land of geographic Macedonia. The majority of the **Albanians** as well as significant groups of Slavs and Greeks converted. Islamicization also affected **Vlach** villages in the Meglen area in the present-day **Aegean Macedonia** and the **Jews** of **Salonica**, where several hundred families, followers of the false messiah Sab-batai Sevi, converted in 1683.

The spread of Islam was bolstered by the Turkic settlers arriving *en masse* from Anatolia after the late 14th century (see YÜRÜKS). They repopulated the urban centers, which acquired Muslim majorities and an Islamic identity manifest in the landmark architectural complexes such as the Haydar Kadi mosque in **Bitola** constructed in 1562 by Sinan, the most famous Ottoman architect; the Aladža Mosque (Turkish, *Alaca camii*) in **Tetovo** (1495); the Hunkâr (Imperial), **Mustafa Paşa**, **Isa Beg**, and **Ishak Beg** mosques in **Skopje** (mid-15th century); and the Helveti-*tekke* mosque in **Struga**. Another channel for the spread of Islam was the *Sufi* mystical brotherhoods (*tarikatar*) like the *Helveti*, *Nakşibendi*, *Rufa'i*, *Qadiri*, some of which combined “high” Islam of the Hanafi (Turkish, *Hanefi*) school and folk beliefs. Tetovo became one of the established centers of the most heterodox of *tarikatar*, the Bektashi.

Islam long remained the main identity marker of diverse communities across Macedonia. It conditioned, for instance, the Turkification of urban Albanians even in the late Ottoman period. The emergence of Albanian and Turkish secular elites in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was partially challenged by spreading the ideas of nationalism based on language and ethnicity. Still, notions of Islamic solidarity survived.

After the **Balkan Wars**, when Islam lost its dominant status, Muslims of various ethnic backgrounds set off for Turkey. While Muslims remained significant in number they were, by and large, isolated from the interwar Yugoslav state, which considered them an anachronism. They were placed under the authority of the *Reis-ul-Ulema* and, following King **Aleksandar Karadjordjević**'s centralization reforms, under the Islamic Religious Community, both based in **Bel-**

grade. During the communist period, Macedonian Muslims were subordinated to the *Reis-ul-Ulema* in Sarajevo.

After 1945, Yugoslav communist authorities pursued policies aimed at modernizing Muslim communities. They abolished Sharia courts and religious schools, banning *tarikats* and closing their *tekkes* (lodges). There were also campaigns against veiling. After the mid-1950s there was a period of liberalization. By the 1970s, Yugoslav Muslims enjoyed greater freedom to practice their faith compared to their coreligionists in other communist countries. Yet, in Macedonia Muslims and non-Muslims continued living parallel lives, and inter-marriages were very rare, particularly in rural areas. During that time, the Albanian element's importance within Muslim institutions like mosques and pious foundations grew, a process continuing further after independence.

At present, Macedonia's Muslim population amounts to some 630,000, 30 percent of the republic's total. In ethnic terms it is divided into Albanians, **Turks**, Macedonian speakers (**Torbeši**), **Roma**, and Bosniaks (numbering some 17,018, or 0.84 percent of the total). It is represented by the Islamic Community, which split from the Yugoslav umbrella in 1991 and is officially recognized by the state.

IVANOVSKI, PETAR (PERO TIKVAR) (1920–). Communist functionary. Born in **Prilep**, Ivanovski joined **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1938, and in 1941 he was elected to the Provincial Committee in **Vardar Macedonia**, where he supported **Metodi Šatorov**. In March 1942, Ivanovski became the commander-in-chief of the **partisan** headquarters but was captured and imprisoned by the Bulgarian authorities. After his release in 1944, he took part in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** and later directed the **Skopje** branch of the communist secret police. He was later purged because of his past links with Šatorov. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA.

IVANOVSKI, VASIL "BISTRIŠKI" (1906–1991). Political activist, communist publicist, and ideologist of Macedonian ethnic separatism. Ivanovski was born in the village of Lovrade near Castoria/Kostur. Emigrating to **Sofia** in the wake of **World War I**, he joined

the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and, after living in the Soviet Union from 1926 to 1933, entered the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**, too. Ivanovski contributed to the left-wing Macedonian newspapers in **Bulgaria** such as *Makedonsko zname* (Macedonian Flag) and in December 1934 authored the pamphlet *Zašto nie makedoncite sme otdelna nacija* (Why We the Macedonians Are a Separate Nation) published by the Macedonian People's Union in Detroit (*see* PIRINSKI, GEORGI). The publication listed historical and ethnographic arguments in favor of the Macedonian Slavs' emancipation. Following **World War II**, Ivanovski took part in the commission charged with the codification of the literary **Macedonian language** but returned to Sofia in 1945 after a conflict with the authorities. A member of the BCP Central Committee, Ivanovski was sentenced to seven years in prison at the 1949 trial against Trajčo Kostov, a high-profile victim of the Stalinist purges in Bulgaria. *See also* MACEDONIAN LITERARY CIRCLE; MACEDONISM.

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JANEVSKI, SLAVKO (1920–2000). Renowned writer, one of the fathers of the modern Macedonian **literature**. After 1945, Janevski, who was born in **Skopje**, pursued a career at various youth-oriented newspapers and magazines published by the communist authorities in Yugoslav Macedonia. He also contributed to literary periodicals and was an editor at a number of state-run publishing houses. One of the founders of the Macedonian Writers' Association and the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**, Janevski wrote the first novel ever to be released in standard **Macedonian**, *Seloto zad sedumte jasei* (The Village behind the Seven Ash Trees), in 1952. He is also known for his children's books and scenarios for films such as *Volkja Nokj* (Wolf's Night, 1955), *Makedonska krvava svadba* (Macedonian Blood Wedding, 1967, after **Vojdan Černodrinski's** play), or the 1971 *Makedonskiot del od pekolot* (The Macedonian Part of Hell) dedicated to the **partisan movement** during **World War II**. *See also* CINEMA.

JANKOV, ANASTAS (1857–1906). Notable commander of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)**. Born in Zagoričani near Castoria/Kostur, Jankov fought in the Serbian army against the **Ottomans** in 1876 and in 1877 joined the Bulgarian Volunteer Corps active in the Russian-Turkish War. He graduated from the Military School in **Sofia** and fought in the brief war against **Serbia** in 1885. From 1896 onward, Colonel Jankov was a band leader with the SMAC, leading multiple raids into Ottoman territory. At times, as during his 1902 campaign in the Castoria area, he clashed openly with the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** bands. During the **Ilinden Uprising**, Colonel Jankov commanded a 400-strong *četa* in the Razlog region (**Pirin Macedonia**). He was killed during a skirmish with Ottoman troops in 1906 at Vlahi, the native village of his archenemy **Jane Sandanski**. Jankov's son, Major Kosta Jankov, headed the **Bulgarian Communist Party's** military organization. He plotted the St. Nedelja Church bomb attack in April 1925, which killed 123 and wounded 500 people. *See also* CONČEV, IVAN.

JAVOROV, PEJO (1878–1914). Eminent poet, playwright, and intellectual. Born in the town of Čirpan as Pejo Kračolov, Javorov joined the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** in 1901 and became an intimate friend of **Goce Delčev**. Delčev inspired the poet's literary work, and after the leader's death Javorov wrote his first biography. He edited various IMARO newspapers such as *Svoboda ili smŕt* (Freedom or Death), *Delo* (Cause), *Avtonomija*, and *Ilinden*. During the First **Balkan War**, Javorov fought in **Pirin Macedonia**. Praised for his sensuous poetry influenced by French symbolism, Javorov had a turbulent personal life. He committed suicide in 1914 after the loss of his wife Lora Karavelova. The pistol is believed to have been procured by **Todor Aleksandrov**, a longtime companion. *See also* LITERATURE.

JEWS. Jewish communities have been living in the region of Macedonia since the times of the Roman Empire, though they were probably present in the coastal towns even beforehand. Sephardic Jews immigrated *en masse* into the **Ottoman** lands in the 15th and 16th centuries from the possessions of the Spanish crown in present-day Spain,

Portugal, and Italy. Many of them settled in Macedonia. Beyond the large community in **Salonica** numbering 90,000 in the interwar period, there were significant Jewish settlements in **Bitola**, **Skopje**, and **Štip**, employed in commerce and the trades. Though the community was, by and large, loyal to the Ottoman authority, individual Jews such as Raphael Kamhi, a citizen of Bitola, participated in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**.

In the interwar period, the Jewish population of **Vardar Macedonia** amounted to about 7,500. After the annexation by **Bulgaria** in April 1941, Jews were persecuted under the so-called Protection of the Nation Act inspired by legislation in Nazi Germany and could not acquire Bulgarian citizenship. In March 1943, 7,148 Jews were gathered by the Bulgarian police and the army, locked in the warehouses of the tobacco monopoly in Skopje, and subsequently deported by train through **Serbia** and Hungary to the Nazi death camps. The few survivors settled in Israel. Senior IMRO activists such as Vladimir Kurtev have been credited with the salvation of Jews in Bulgaria. Nowadays, there are around 200 Jews in the Republic of Macedonia, nearly all of them in Skopje. The community has also been partly assimilated by the majority Macedonians.

JOHN II ASEN (?–1241). Bulgarian tsar from the Asenid Dynasty whose reign (1218–1241) marked the zenith of medieval **Bulgaria**’s power and territorial expansion. After defeating the ruler of Epirus Theodore Comnenus in 1218, John established control over most of geographic Macedonia outside **Salonica**. In 1335 he also restored the Bulgarian Patriarchate. *See also* BYZANTIUM.

JOSIFOVSKI, KUZMAN “PITU” (1917–1944). Communist functionary, prominent **partisan** commander called in his time “the second **Goce Delčev**.” Born in **Prilep**, Josifovski was active in the labor movement in the late 1930s and was a member of the **Macedonian People’s Movement**. He joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** while studying law in **Belgrade** (1938). Josifovski was a member of the Provincial Committee of the party and, after 1943, of the Central Committee of the newly established **Communist Party of Macedonia**. Formally part of the **partisan** headquarters in the Italian zone,

Josifovski resided in **Skopje** and acted as a liaison with the **Bulgarian Communist Party**. He also recruited his fellow townsman **Metodija Andonov-Čento** into the movement. Josifovski was killed in February 1944 in Skopje during a skirmish with Bulgarian soldiers. His brother, Asparuh Josifovski, was one of the Prilep communists who carried out the attacks on 11 October 1941 celebrated as the start of the People's Liberation Struggle.

JOVKOV, ARSENI (1882–1924). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** activist born in Selce (**Debar** region). After graduating from the **Exarchist** high school in **Bitola**, Jovkov fought in the **Ilinden Uprising**. During **World War I** he was mayor of Prishtina in **Kosovo**, then under Bulgarian occupation. After 1919, Jovkov headed the **Ilinden Organization** in **Sofia**. He was murdered at the orders of **Ivan Mihajlov** and **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** because of his support for the **May Manifesto**.

– K –

KAČAK. Albanian irregular or brigand. Kaçaks, meaning “illegal” in Turkish, operated in **Vardar Macedonia** and **Kosovo** in the late Ottoman period as well as in the interwar decades when they fought against the Serb-dominated Yugoslav authorities. *See also* ČETA; KOMITA.

KALAJDŽIEV, HRISTO (1886–1964). Communist functionary born in Yenice Vardar (**Aegean Macedonia**). Kalajdžiev was an **Exarchist** teacher prior to the **Balkan Wars**. He joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party** in 1919 after settling in **Sofia** to become a member of the Central Committee, editor-in-chief of the party's daily, and deputy in the Bulgarian parliament from 1927 to 1931. Kalajdžiev was also a notable figure within the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** and, after 1944, headed the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Societies, the former Macedonian Charitable Fraternities, in **Bulgaria**. *See also* KULIŠEV, GEORGI; POPTOMOV, VLADIMIR.

KALAMATIJEVIĆ, MIHAILO (1896–1940s). Merchant from **Štip**, distinguished Serb loyalist in **Vardar Macedonia**. In 1923 he established the *Udruženje protiv bugarskih bandita* (Association against Bulgarian Bandits), which organized paramilitary units to fight the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** in the districts bordering **Bulgaria**. Kalamatijević headed the municipal council in **Štip** and from 1927 to 1941 was a member of the Yugoslav parliament from the local constituency. He escaped to Turkey and then to **Greece** after the capitulation of **Yugoslavia** in April 1941. *See also* CIKLEV, GLIGOR; KARADJORDJEVIĆ, KING ALEKSANDAR; LAZIĆ, ŽIVOJIN.

KANTARDŽIEV, ČUDOMIR (1883–1924). Leading member of the Macedonian movement's left. Born in Sliven, **Bulgaria**, Kantardžiev was one of the closest associates of **Jane Sandanski**. He was part of the Serres revolutionary district's leadership and an ideologue of the People's Federative Party in the post-1908 period. He took part in the effort to reestablish the left after **World War I** together with **Gjorče Petrov**. Kantardžiev was killed by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** in Plovdiv in September 1924 during the purges that followed the assassination of **Todor Aleksandrov**. *See also* FEDERALISTS; HADŽIDIMOV, DIMO; PANICA, TODOR.

KARADJORDJEVIĆ, KING ALEKSANDAR (1888–1934). Prince regent of **Serbia** from 1918 to 1921 and later king of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, after 1929 **Yugoslavia**. The “unifier king” pursued a policy of national integration suppressing separatist movements in different parts of Yugoslavia, including **Vardar Macedonia**. In 1929, he suspended the Yugoslav constitution and established an authoritarian regime. The king was assassinated on 9 October 1934 in Marseilles by **Vlado Černozemski**, an **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** terrorist employed by the Croatian separatist *Ustaše*.

KARAJOVOV, TOMA (1868–1951). Intellectual, publicist, and political activist. Born in **Skopje**, Karajovov was a member of the **Young Macedonian Literary Company**. He wrote extensively on the **Macedonian Question** in the Bulgarian press and later took part

in the establishment of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. In 1902, Karajovov joined the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** and after the **Ilinden Uprising** was a distinguished figure in the centralist (right-wing) faction. Karajovov also worked as a Bulgarian diplomat in the period 1904–1924. During the internecine fights in the interwar period, he sided with **Ivan Mihajlov** and directed the contacts of the IMRO with the West. Karajovov was also one of the leaders of the Democrat Party in **Bulgaria** as well as of the Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs party established after the **Young Turk Revolution**. *See also* LJAPČEV, ANDREJ.

KARANDŽULOV, NIKOLA (1856–1930). Politician and senior magistrate born in **Prilep**. Karandžulov was the leader of the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in **Bulgaria** after 1918. A powerful figure in the Macedonian community of **Sofia**, he was also a prominent supporter of **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Ivan Mihajlov**. Within the Bulgarian parliament, Karandžulov was one of the pillars of the Macedonian group of deputies, a cross-party coalition active in the interwar period.

KARANGELESKI, VASKO (1921–1977). Yugoslav Macedonian communist and **partisan** commander born in Brusnik near **Bitola**. After 1944, Karangeleski commanded a Macedonian division within the Yugoslav army. He died in an accident in 1977.

KARAVANGELIS, GERMANOS (1866–1935). **Patriarchist** metropolitan of Castoria/Kostur in 1900–1907 and a fierce adversary of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. Karavangelis collaborated with the **Ottoman** authorities in the suppression of the **Ilinden Uprising**. In the following years, he organized and directed the Greek bands operating in his district. His memoirs documenting the nationalist strife in early 20th-century Macedonia were published in 1959 in **Salonica**. *See also* MELAS, PAVLOS.

KAREV, NIKOLA (1877–1905). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** activist from **Kruševo**. Karev was

exposed to socialist ideas in **Sofia**, where he worked as a chair maker in the 1890s. He was later an **Exarchist** teacher and a *četa* leader in the Kruševo area. During the **Ilinden Uprising**, Karev was elected as president of the short-lived Kruševo Republic after the insurgents captured the town. For this, he is celebrated in the Republic of Macedonia and **Bulgaria** as one of the heroes of the uprising. After Ilinden, Karev lived in Sofia, where he was active in the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party. He was killed in a skirmish with **Ottoman** troops in 1905. *See also* GLAVINOV, VASIL; GULI, PITU.

KARPOŠ. Rebel leader from the mid-17th century. Karpoš was active in the Dospat area of the Rhodope Massif (southern **Bulgaria**). During the 1689 Austrian offensive into the **Ottoman** territory, he marched toward the Znepole region, located in the present-day border between Bulgaria and **Serbia**, and together with the Habsburg troops captured the town of Kriva Palanka. He proclaimed himself king of **Kumanovo** and a vassal to the Habsburg emperor. His "reign" did not last. An Ottoman counteroffensive supported by Crimean Tatar cavalry defeated Karpoš's army. He was captured and impaled in **Skopje**, with his head put on display at the stone bridge over the **Vardar** River. *See also* PICCOLOMINI, ENEO.

KATARDŽIEV, IVAN (1926–). Eminent historian and public figure. Katardžiev was born in the village of Ploski in **Pirin Macedonia**. He is one of the leading specialists on the 19th-century and early-20th-century history of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** and the director of the **Institute for National History**. Katardžiev's main works include *The Serres District from the Kresna Uprising to the Young Turk Revolution* (1968), *Time of Maturation: The Macedonian National Question between the Two World Wars, 1919–1930* (1977), and *The Struggle for the Development and Affirmation of the Macedonian Nation* (1981). He was on the editorial board of the new edition of the *History of the Macedonian People* released in 1998. *See also* BITOSKI, KRSTE; PANDEVSKI, MANOL.

KEPESKI, KRUME (1909–1988). Renowned philologist born in **Priep**. Kepeski graduated from the University in **Belgrade** in 1935 and

worked as a teacher in **Skopje**. In 1946 he wrote the first grammar of the Macedonian literary language, which reappeared in many editions. In 1980, Kepeski also coauthored a grammar of the Romani language. *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

KERIM, SRGJAN (1948–). Notable diplomat, academic, and businessman. Born in **Skopje**, Kerim obtained a doctorate in economics from **Belgrade** University and worked as a professor of international economic relations between 1972 and 1991. He returned to Macedonia in 1986 to become a minister in the republican government but in 1989 was back in Belgrade as **Yugoslavia's** deputy minister of foreign affairs. From 1994 to 2000, Kerim served as Macedonian ambassador in several western European countries, including Germany. He was then appointed foreign minister, a position he held until May 2001 when a new coalition government was inaugurated (*see* MITREVA, ILINKA).

Close to Bodo Hombach, the former chairman of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe launched by the **European Union** in 1999, Kerim followed him at the Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) media group. He presided over the board of the Belgrade daily *Politika*, purchased by the conglomerate. In 2003, WAZ also bought the three major Macedonian newspapers *Dnevnik*, *Utrinski vesnik*, and *Vest*, with Kerim, head of the group's Balkan subsidiary, closely involved in the deal. Returning to active diplomatic service in 2006, Kerim was appointed ambassador at the **United Nations**. In May 2007, he was elected as chairman of the global organization's General assembly.

KIČEVO (ALBANIAN, KËRÇOVA). Town in southwestern Macedonia, in the foothills of the Bistra Mountain. Kičevo has a population of 30,138, of which 53.5 percent are Macedonians and 30.5 percent are **Albanians**. In 2004, there were tensions over the plans to merge the municipality with the neighboring rural municipalities of Zajas, Drugovo, Oslomej, and Vraneštica, all with Albanian majorities. The final draft of the Territorial Organization Act passed in 2004 stipulated that the merger would be postponed until after the municipal elections due in 2008. *See also* URBANIZATION.

KIROV-MAJSKI, NIKOLA (1880–1962). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist, playwright, and memoirist. Born in **Kruševo**, Kirov-Majski participated in the **Ilinden Uprising**. He settled in **Sofia** after the **Balkan Wars** and was active in the **federalist** wing of the Macedonian movement. Kirov-Majski also wrote on the history of the IMARO and authored the play *Ilinden* in the dialect of his native town (*see* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE). The play is the only direct source containing the Kruševo Manifesto, the rebels' programmatic address to the neighboring Muslim villages, which is regularly quoted by the modern Macedonian historiography and textbooks. *See also* GULI, PITU; KAREV, NIKOLA.

KISELINOV, GEORGI (1888–1961). Philologist, publisher, ethnographer, and educator from **Ohrid**. Longtime teacher in **Skopje**, Kiselinov edited in 1937–1938 *Luč* (Ray), a literary magazine that published work in Macedonian dialects. From 1941 to 1944, he worked as a lecturer in Russian at the university opened in Skopje by the Bulgarian authorities. In 1945, Kiselinov took part in the commission dealing with the codification of the **Macedonian literary language**. As he opposed, together with **Venko Markovski** and Georgi Soptrajanov (1907–2001), the adoption of the phonetic principle inspired by Serbian Cyrillic, Kiselinov was expelled from the commission. His bitter conflict with **Blaže Koneski** lasted throughout the 1950s. From the 1990s onward, Kiselinov's relative, the historian Stojan Kiselinovski, has been at the forefront of the efforts to reassess the role played by Koneski in Macedonia's recent past. *See also* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS.

KITANČEV, TRAJKO (1858–1895). Cultural and political activist. Kitančev came from the village Podmočani in the Prespa area. After studies in Moscow and Kiev, he taught at the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica**. Settling in **Sofia**, he became a leading figure in the Macedonian **diaspora** and was active in Bulgarian party politics. He was a supporter of **Stefan Stambolov** in the 1880s, but later the two fell out. In March 1895, a few months before his early death from a heart attack, Kitančev founded the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. *See also* LJAPČEV, ANDREJ.

KLIMOVSKI, SAVO (1947–). Politician and professor of constitutional law. Klimovski was educated at the University of **Skopje**, his native town, and obtained a doctorate in law from Ljubljana University in 1978. From the mid-1980s he served in the republican government of Yugoslav Macedonia. Elected to the Macedonian parliament from the **Democratic Alternative** list in 1998, Klimovski served as a speaker until 2000. *See also* ČAŠULE, SLOBODAN; TUPURKOVSKI, VASIL.

KLJUSEV, NIKOLA (1927–2007). Macedonian economist and politician born in **Štip**. Kljusev was Macedonia's first prime minister after its independence in 1991, leading a cabinet of technocrats until July 1992, when he was succeeded by **Branko Crvenkovski**. He was also a member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**, where he presided over the Demographic Studies Council. *See also* GLIGOROV, KIRO.

KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR (1914–2002). Political activist, high-ranking communist functionary, and Yugoslav official. Koliševski was born in Stara Mezdra near Sveti Nikole. His father was a Slav and his mother a **Vlach**. Both died during **World War I**, and Koliševski was sent to an orphanage by his aunts and later, in 1928, enrolled in the technical school at the military factory in Kragujevac, central **Serbia**. The school was a hotbed of left-wing activism. There Koliševski befriended the future Yugoslav communist leader Aleksandar Ranković (1909–1983), a future ally of his, as well as other Macedonian communists such as Boris “Boro” Miljevski (1921–1991), later a well-known **partisan** commander and Yugoslav diplomat (*see* MILJOVSKI, KIRIL).

Koliševski rose to prominence in the Yugoslav communist movement in the 1930s. In 1941, following the occupation of Macedonia by the Axis powers, he was dispatched to the **Vardar** region by the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** to impose control over the local party organization. His main opponent was **Metodi Šatorov**, an older functionary leaning toward the Bulgarian communists. Koliševski's mission was to organize armed resistance. By September 1941, he was in a stronger position, having become the organization secretary of the new Provincial Committee.

On 11 October 1941, communists attacked the Bulgarian police station in **Prilep**, but a month later Koliševski was arrested in **Ohrid** and sentenced to death. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Bulgarian historians never fail to refer to the pardon request that Koliševski wrote to Tsar Boris III, identifying himself as a “loyal Bulgarian.”

In 1943, Koliševski was elected *in absentia* as secretary of the Central Committee of the newly formed **Communist Party of Macedonia**, a delegate to the **Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia's** second session in Jajce, and also to the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** convened in August 1944. Upon his release from the prison at Pleven (**Bulgaria**) in September 1944, Koliševski occupied the top of the republican and party leadership in Yugoslav Macedonia until 1963. He is remembered as a supporter of bureaucratic centralism promoted by Aleksandar Ranković in the early decades of Titoist **Yugoslavia**, opposed to the more liberal faction around **Krste Crvenkovski**. Following Macedonia's independence, Koliševski was also attacked for his role in the late-1940s purges against autonomy-minded figures such as **Metodija Andonov-Čento**, who had been promoted into national icons.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Koliševski pursued a career in the federal institutions. He was a part of the presidium of the **League of Communists of Yugoslavia's** Central Committee since 1974 as well as a member of the Yugoslav Presidency. As such he succeeded **Josip Broz Tito** as the Yugoslav head of state for a brief period upon the latter's death on 4 May 1980. *See also* VUKMANOVIĆ, SVET-OZAR.

KOMITA. Literally “committee man”; also encountered as “comitadji,” from the Turkish form *komitaci*. A term used with a reference to the **Internal Macedono(-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization** band members active from the 1890s until the mid-1930s. *See also* ČETA; KAČAK.

KONESKI, BLAŽE (1921–1993). Poet, literary historian, and linguist, considered the father of modern Macedonian **literature**. Koneski was born in Nebregovo, near **Prilep**, to a pro-Serbian family.

He studied in Prilep but later was transferred to Kragujevac in central **Serbia**. He enrolled in the University of **Belgrade** but after 1941 moved, as Blagoj Konev, to **Sofia** University.

In 1945, Koneski was centrally involved in the commission charged with the codification of the **Macedonian language**. He was later accused of imposing a graphic system closer to the phonetic orthographic standard established by the Serb enlightener Vuk Karadžić in the 19th century. Koneski marginalized other leading members of the commission such as **Venko Markovski** using political machinations, including through pressure by top Yugoslav communists such as the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas.

Rejected by not only his Bulgarian colleagues but also contemporary **Skopje** intellectuals (*see also* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS), Koneski has rightfully earned recognition as one of the fathers of the modern Macedonian nation. He was the editor of the first Macedonian dictionary (Vol. I, 1961; Vol. II, 1965; and Vol. III, 1966) and a grammar of the **language**, as well as one of the founders of major cultural institutions, including Skopje University (rector, 1958–1960); the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** (first president, 1967–1975); and the Macedonian Writers' Association. Koneski published extensively on the cultural history of Macedonia in the 19th century, focusing on the development of a separate Macedonian ethnonational and linguistic identity (*see* MACEDONISM). Major works include *History of the Macedonain Language* (1965) and *The Macedonian 19th Century: Linguistic and Literary Historical Contributions* (1986). Koneski's oeuvre won him international acclaim, and he was awarded honorary doctorates from the universities of Chicago and Krakow. Koneski is also celebrated for his poems building on tropes and styles borrowed from Macedonian **folklore**. *See also* MISIRKOV, KRSTE; PULJEVSKI, GEORGI; RISTOVSKI, BLAŽE.

KOSOVO. A historico-geographical region located to the north of Macedonia. The province, covering an area of 10,887 square kilometers, is named after the plane of Kosovo (*Kosovo Polje*, literally “blackbird field”) at its center. It also includes the Metohija Plateau in the west (Albanian, *Rrafshi i Dukagjinit*). The main urban settlements are Prishtina, the province's administrative center; Prizren;

Djakovica/Djakova; Uroševac/Ferizaj; Peć/Peja; and Gnjilane/Giljan. Kosovo was at the core of the Serb medieval state (*see* DUŠAN THE MIGHTY; MILUTIN). It was the site of a major battle during which the Ottoman armies defeated Tsar Lazar Hrebeljanović in June 1389, an event that looms large in Serbian national mythology.

Under the **Ottoman Empire**, the greatest part of Kosovo was ruled from **Skopje** as part of an administrative unit straddling the two regions. There were significant ethnographic, social, and economic links between Kosovo and the northern parts of the **Vardar** valley. The Catholic community in Kosovo was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Skopje. The dialect of the Slavs from **Tetovo** was closely related with the one in Prizren across the Šar Mountain. Links of kinship also bridged the Muslim populations, both Albanian- and Turkish-speaking. Unlike in Macedonia, Muslims became a majority in Kosovo during the Ottoman period. That was due, in part, to Orthodox Slavs' emigration to **Serbia** proper and the Habsburg lands, especially after the end of the 17th century.

Kosovo was conquered by Serbia during the **Balkan Wars** of 1912–1913 together with neighboring **Vardar Macedonia**. The province gained autonomy in post-**World War II** socialist **Yugoslavia**, which was substantially broadened with the 1974 constitution. This benefited local **Albanians**, who accounted, by the 1980s, for 90 percent of Kosovo's two million inhabitants. Campaigns to achieve the status of a separate republic, culminating in mass demonstrations in 1968 and 1981, had a profound effect on the Albanians in Yugoslav Macedonia. Many leaders of the community were educated in Prishtina and pursued careers in the provincial institutions. Thousands of Kosovar Albanians also settled in Macedonia, a politically contested subject in the 1990s that prompted the adoption of very restrictive citizenship legislation.

Kosovo's autonomy was curtailed in 1989 by the Serbian communist leader Slobodan Milošević. In 1998–1999, radical Albanian groups waged a guerrilla campaign leading to repressions by the Serb security forces and ultimately an international intervention led by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**. During the crisis, 300,000 Kosovar Albanian refugees descended into the Republic of Macedonia. They returned after the NATO campaign resulted in the establishment of an international protectorate under **United Nations**

supervision. During the 2001 conflict involving the **National Liberation Army**, the Macedonian government blamed Kosovars of fomenting violence from across the border and irredentist designs *vis-à-vis* the Albanian-populated regions of the country. The resolution of the crisis with the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** stabilized relations, deepening economic and social links between Skopje and Prishtina. In 2007, the **United States** and the big member states of the **European Union** endorsed a plan, prepared by the Finnish envoy Marti Ahtisaari, for granting Kosovo conditional independence under international tutelage. After an unsuccessful round of negotiations with Serbia, the Kosovar parliament unilaterally proclaimed independence on 17 February 2008. *See also* ALBANIA; PRISHTINA, HASAN.

KOSTOV, HARI (1959–). Prominent politician, businessman, and banker. Kostov was born in Pišica (Probištip) to a **Vlach** family. In the 1980s and 1990s, he worked in the banking sector in **Skopje**. He became prime minister in June 2004 following the election of **Branko Crvenkovski** as a president of the republic. Kostov resigned over differences with the ruling **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia** in the aftermath of the failed referendum on the law on redrawing certain municipal borders in November 2004. *See also* BUČKOVSKI, VLADO.

KOSTOVSKI, TRIFUN (1946–). High-profile businessman, benefactor, and politician. A graduate in economics from **Skopje** University, Kostovski worked for many years as a representative of the Skopje firm Tehnometal in various European countries. In 1991, he founded Kometal, a private trading company. Over the 1990s, Kometal became a major sponsor of sport activities and established its own handball team based in the Skopje suburb of **Gjorče Petrov**. Kostovski also supported financially the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** and donated to various churches around the country. In 2005, he was elected as mayor of Skopje.

KRAPČEV, DANAIL (1880–1944). Publisher, journalist, and public intellectual born in **Prilep**. A graduate in history from **Sofia** University, Krapčev contributed to various publications in Sofia and **Salon-**

ica over the period 1907–1912. Together with **Pejo Javorov**, he edited *Ilinden*, the organ of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. In 1919, Krapčev established *Zora* (Dawn), a leading Bulgarian daily, and published many articles on Balkan and international politics, including the **Macedonian Question**. He was a prominent Germanophile. Krapčev was killed near Gorna Džumaja, presently Blagoevgrad, by the communist **partisans** immediately after the coup on 9 September 1944. *See also* BADEV, JORDAN; TALEV, DIMITŪR.

KRESNA UPRISING. Anti-Ottoman insurgency that took place in 1878–1879 in the valley of Struma, **Pirin Macedonia**. It came as a reaction to the **Berlin Treaty**. The rebels included many former members of the Bulgarian Volunteer Corps active during the Russian-Turkish War in 1877–1878. They were organized by the so-called Unity Committees established by **Stefan Stambolov**. At the local level, the uprising was directed by **Nathaniel**, the **Exarchist** bishop of **Ohrid**, **Dimitŭr Popgeorgiev Berovski**, and Stojan Karastoilov.

The hostilities started in October 1878, when a 400-strong insurgent contingent attacked the Ottoman garrison in the Kresna Gorge. There were also fights in the neighboring Razlog region. The rebels captured the Struma valley, but soon the Unity Committee and the band commanders quarreled over leadership. As a result, Karastoilov was murdered and Berovski removed from his position. The Ottoman counteroffensive induced Nathaniel to call a retreat in the spring of 1879, and the bands withdrew across the Bulgarian border.

The historiography in Yugoslav Macedonia has celebrated the Kresna revolt, often referred to as the Macedonian Uprising, and especially the autonomist attitude of its leaders. Researchers quote the rebels' constitution discovered by the historian Slavko Dimevski in the archives of the Bulgarian Patriarch Cyril (1901–1971). Their Bulgarian colleagues have disputed the authenticity of the document and point to the much more concise by-laws drawn up by Nathaniel and Stefan Stambolov, which do not contain references to Macedonian separatism. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

KRLE, RISTO (1900–1975). Celebrated author and playwright. Born in **Struga**, Krle was active in various amateur companies in his native

town and the nearby region while working as a shoemaker. In the late 1930s, Krle wrote plays in his native dialect. They portray everyday life in Macedonia with a strong moralistic tone. Performed at the **Skopje** theater, the plays enjoyed a great deal of popularity. After 1945, Krle was among the founders of the Macedonian Writers' Association and wrote several new plays and poems. *See also* ILJOSKI, VASIL; LITERATURE; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; PANOV; ANTON.

KRSTIĆ, ANDJELKO (1871–1952). Writer, political activist, and educator. Krstić was born in the village of Labunište in the Drimkol area north of **Struga** into a pro-Serb family. He was involved in setting up Serbian schools in his district and collaborated with the Serb armed bands in the area. Krstić achieved success with his 1932 novel *Trajan* describing the life of Macedonian labor migrants in **Serbia**. After 1947, Krstić, who wrote in Serbian, was made a member of the Macedonian Writers' Association. *See also* LITERATURE; SERBS.

KRSTIĆ-LATOVSKI, MICKO (?–1911). Guerrilla commander from the village of Latovo near **Kičevo**. Originally a brigand, Krstić rose to prominence in 1880–1881 while fighting Muslim irregulars in the areas of **Poreče** and Demir Hisar. He was captured by the **Ottomans** and spent 17 years in prison. Freed in 1901 thanks to the intervention of the Serbian consul in **Bitola**, Krstić became a Serb band leader in western Macedonia and in October 1904 managed to capture the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** chief **Damjan Gruev**, whom he had befriended earlier in the Ottoman prison. He was killed in a fight with Ottoman troops. *See also* SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION; SOKOLOVIĆ, GLIGUR.

KRUŠEVO (VLACH, KRUŠEVA). Small mountain town in the central part of **Vardar Macedonia**. Kruševo has a mixed population of Slavs and **Vlachs** who came in the 18th century from Moscopole (Moshopolis, Voskopoja) in **Albania**. During the **Ilinden Uprising** of 1903, the town was captured by the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** insurgents who proclaimed the establishment of the so-called Kruševo Republic, viewed

as a historical antecedent of independent Macedonia. The republic lasted only 10 days. Kruševo was besieged and bombarded by the **Ottoman** troops. In the battles at the Sliva and Mečkin Kamen localities, they overcame the rebels' resistance led by **Pitu Guli**, Nikola Dečev (1880–1903), Gjurčin Naumov-Pljakot (1851–1904), and Ivan Naumov-Aljabakot (1870–1907). The siege left big swathes of the Vlach neighborhoods destroyed, while the Slavic areas (“the Bulgarian quarter”) was spared. After the **Balkan Wars** many Hellenized Vlachs from Kruševo migrated to **Greece**. Among them was the future politician and distinguished legal scholar Alexandros Svolos (1892–1956).

Kruševo is at the center of the Macedonian national mythology developed in the interwar period by the **diaspora** in **Bulgaria** and institutionalized with the emergence of Yugoslav Macedonia after **World War II**. In 1974 the *Makedonium* complex was unveiled near the town where commemorations of Ilinden are held each year. *See also* KAREV, NIKOLA; KIROV-MAJSKI, NIKOLA; KŪRNIČEVA, MENČA; MARTINOSKI, NIKOLA; PROESKI, TODOR; TOMALEVSKI, NAUM.

KULIŠEV, GEORGI GUGOV (1885–1974). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist and a leading member of the communist *nomenklatura* in **Bulgaria**. Born in Dojran, Kulišev graduated from the Law Faculty of **Sofia** University and worked as a journalist in various IMARO-affiliated periodicals. In the 1920s and 1930s, he was a supporter of **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**. Later Kulišev joined the Zveno political group and the communist-dominated Fatherland Front in the 1940s. He served as a foreign minister in 1946 and was the speaker of the Bulgarian parliament in the 1950s and 1960s. *See also* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY; PROTOGEROVISTS.

KUMANOVO. Town in northeastern Macedonia. According to the 2002 census, Kumanovo has a population of 70,842. Of these, 46,840 are Macedonians, 13,277 **Albanians**, 5,727 **Serbs**, and 4,042 **Roma**. *See also* URBANIZATION.

KŪNČOV, VASIL (1862–1902). Historian and ethnographer, director of the **Salonica** High School from 1892 to 1993, and minister of edu-

cation (1902). Künčov is famous for his study *Macedonia: Ethnography and Statistics* (1900), which he researched while working as chief inspector of the **Exarchist** school network in 1894–1897. The demographic data in the book, particularly on the ethnic composition of the settlements across geographic Macedonia, is still widely used by scholars in **Skopje** and **Sofia**. Künčov also authored surveys on the local history of Skopje and **Veles** as well as travelogues describing various parts of **Ottoman** Macedonia. *See also* CVIJIĆ, JOVAN; WEIGAND, GUSTAV.

KŪRČOVSKI, JOAKIM (ca. 1750–1820). Educator and religious writer. Born in Oslomej in the region of **Kičevo** (Albanian, *Kërçova*), Kŭrčovski studied in Istanbul and was a priest and teacher in Kriva Palanka (Eğri dere) and Kratovo. He wrote a series of five didactic pamphlets and books combining religious and secular subjects that were published in Budapest. They were written in a language combining features of Old Church Slavonic and the Macedonian Slavic dialects, which Kŭrčovski called “plainest Bulgarian tongue.” *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; PEJČINOVIĆ, KIRIL.

KŪRNIČEVA, MENČA (1900–1964). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist. She was born as Melpomeni Kŭrničiu into a **Kruševo Vlach** family. The family moved to **Sofia** after the **Ilinden Uprising**, and Kŭrničeva became involved in the Macedonian movement. After a brief spell in the **federalist** faction, in 1924 she joined the right-wing IMRO. Sent by the organization, on 8 May 1925, Kŭrničeva assassinated **Todor Panica**, a close acquaintance of hers, in the Viennese Burgtheater. She was sentenced to eight years in prison, but the sentence was soon waived on account of her poor health. In December 1925, she married **Ivan Mihajlov** and followed him in emigration after the IMRO was abolished in May 1934. *See also* BUNEVA, MARA.

KUSEVIČ, METODI (1838–1922). Metropolitan of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** and political activist. He was born in **Prilep** as Todor Jovčev Kusev. Educated in the Greek school in his native town, Kusev studied theology in Kiev and St. Petersburg. As a representative of the **Bitola** bishopric, he was one of the founders of the Bulgarian

Exarchate in the early 1870s. In 1873, Kusev was appointed the exarchate's representative in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) in Thrace. From 1894 until his death, he was the metropolitan of Stara Zagora. Kusev was active in various organizations of the Macedonian **diaspora** in **Bulgaria**. *See also* NATHANIEL OF OHRID.

– L –

LANGUAGE. The Republic of Macedonia is characterized by a considerable linguistic diversity. According to the 2002 census, **Macedonian** is the mother tongue of 1,644,815, a little more than two-thirds of the population. Albanian comes second with 25.1 percent, followed by Turkish (3.5 percent), Romani (1.9 percent), Serbian (1.2 percent), Vlach and others (1.8). The Albanian idiom spoken in the Republic of Macedonia is predominantly of the Gheg variety, which is also prevalent in **Kosovo** and northern **Albania**. There are small groups of Tosk-speaking **Albanians** in the area of Lake **Ohrid**. Local **Turks** speak the Rumeli dialect. The Romani idioms common in Macedonia include Arli (from the Turkish word *yerli*, local), Bugurdži, and Džambaz. For the past five or six decades, there has been a gradual decrease in the number of people speaking Vlach (Aromanian), a Balkan Romance tongue related to Romanian. The knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, the majority language in former **Yugoslavia**, has traditionally been widespread thanks to the influence of the media, the **education** system, the federal political institutions, popular culture, and, up to 1992, conscript service in the Yugoslav People's Army.

During the socialist period, minority languages were encouraged through print media, cultural institutions (e.g., the **Skopje**-based Theater of Nationalities performing in Albanian and Turkish), and the education system. Yet the use of minority languages in the public institutions has been a contentious issue, especially since independence. Throughout the 1990s, Macedonian Albanians campaigned for university education in their own language.

The 2001 **Ohrid Framework Agreement** provides that minority languages could be used as official in municipalities where the respective community represents more than one-fifth of the inhabitants.

Apart from the Albanian-populated regions in the northwest, this concerns the municipalities of Centrar Župa and Šuto Orizari, dominated respectively by Turks and Roma. The other Turkish-majority municipality, Plasnica, near **Kičevo**, is in fact populated by Macedonian-speaking **Torbeši**. *See also* LITERATURE; RELIGION.

LAPE, LJUBEN (1910–1985). Eminent Macedonian historian. Born in **Prilep**, Lape was educated at the University of **Belgrade**. He worked as a high school teacher in **Bulgaria** during the annexation of **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II**. Returning to **Skopje** in October 1944, he oversaw the establishment of a national school system (*see* EDUCATION). Lape was among the founders of the History Department at Skopje University's Faculty of Philosophy and the **Institute for National History**, which he led between 1952 and 1956. He was one of the editors of the three-volume *History of the Macedonian People* (1969). Lape's own research focused on late **Ottoman** Macedonia, with a particular focus on the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. *See also* BITOSKI, KRSTE; KATARDŽIEV, IVAN; PANDEVSKI, MANOL.

LAZAROV, KRŪSTO (1881–1944). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** commander from the **Kumanovo** area. Lazarov was active in northeastern Macedonia from 1899 onward in the fights against the **Ottomans** and the Serb *četas* of Djordje Skopljanče. In the period 1919–1931, he commanded the IMRO's guerrilla campaigns against the Serb-dominated Yugoslav administration and police forces in Kumanovo, Kriva Palanka, and Kratovo. Lazarov returned to Kumanovo in 1941 with the Bulgarian authorities. He was killed by the communist **partisans** along with about 40 other citizens of Kumanovo in September 1944. *See also* OZNA.

LAZIĆ, ŽIVOJIN (ŽIKA) (1876–?). Head of the public security department within the Yugoslav Ministry of Interior in the interwar period, minister of the interior (1932–1934). Lazić supervised **Yugoslavia's** stringent police and administrative control over **Vardar Macedonia**. In 1928, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** carried out an unsuccessful assassination attempt against him. Lazić cooperated closely with Dobrica

Matković, the Serb administrator (*Veliki župan*) of Vardar Macedonia during the 1920s who ordered and supervised the murder of 29 peasants in the village of Garvan on 3 March 1923. This was a reprisal for the IMRO's attack against the Serbian colony in Kadrifakovo, which killed 26 and wounded another 15. The Yugoslav gendarmerie and police forces also organized the Association against Bulgarian Bandits, which employed some former **federalist** band leaders. *See also* KALAMATIJEVIĆ, MIHAILO; KARADJORDJEVIĆ, KING ALEKSANDAR.

LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF MACEDONIA. *See* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA.

LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA. *See* COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

LERINSKI, MARKO (1862–1902). Famous **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** commander. Lerinski was born in Sliven, eastern **Bulgaria**, as Georgi Ivanov. Originally an army officer, he took part in the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee** bands. Lerinski was recruited for the IMARO in 1900 by **Goce Delčev** and **Gjorče Petrov** and sent to the Florina/Lerin region. There he established a network of committees and *četas*, which formed the local backbone of the IMARO in the years to come. He was killed in a skirmish with **Ottoman** troops in the village of Patele. *See also* ČAKALAROV, VASIL; PATČEV, METODI; SILJANOV, HRISTO.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LIBERALNO DEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA). Political party founded in 1990 by **Petar Gošev**, the last chairman of the **League of Communists of Macedonia**. In 1997 Gošev's Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party, forming the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In 1999, Risto Penov, a former mayor of **Skopje**, headed the party and led it into a short-lived alliance with the **IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)**. After the presidential elections in 1999, where the LDP's candidate, **Stojan Andov**, failed to qualify for the second round, his supporters left the LDP and reestablished

the Liberal Party of Macedonia. At the 2002 general elections, the LDP allied with the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia** in the parliamentary elections and had four ministers in the coalition government in 2002–2006. The alliance was continued at the 2006 and 2008 parliamentary elections. In February 2007, Penov stepped down from the leadership position, giving way to Jovan Manasievski, a former minister. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

LIČENOSKI, LAZAR (1901–1964). Celebrated artist, considered one of the fathers of modern Macedonian painting. Born in Galičnik (**Reka**), Ličenoski studied in **Belgrade** and from 1927 to 1929 specialized in Paris. He exhibited his work, influenced by expressionism, in galleries and venues across the Balkans and western Europe. After 1945, Ličenoski settled in **Skopje** and participated in the establishment of a local art school, a national gallery, and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Historical Monuments. *See also* ART; MARTINOSKI, NIKOLA.

LITERATURE. Although it traces its roots to the rich, popular oral traditions, the writings by various 19th-century educators in local Slavic dialects, or even the literary work of **St. Clement of Ohrid** in the 9th and 10th centuries, modern Macedonian literature developed only in the latter half of the 20th century. It was thanks to the pioneering publications of poets such as **Venko Markovski** and **Kočo Racin** that a national language and literature started developing from the late 1930s onward.

The process was actively fostered by the Yugoslav Macedonian republic after **World War II**. By the end of the 1940s **Macedonian** was standardized, there were periodicals circulating in the language, and the Macedonian Writers' Association (1947) had been founded. As a result, writers such as Markovski, **Risto Krle**, **Vasil Iljoski**, and Stale Popov (1902–1965) benefited from a much wider popular exposure compared to what they could hope for in the 1930s. However, the founding father of a Macedonian national school was **Blaže Koneski**, a leading philologist, literary historian, and poet. The 1950s saw the appearance of the first Macedonian-language novel, *The Village behind the Seven Ash Trees* by **Slavko Janevski**, who came to represent, together with **Aco Šopov**, **Kole Čašule**, and

Vlado Maleski, what some critics would call “the first postwar generation” of Macedonian literature. It delved into subjects such as Macedonia’s turbulent past, rural life, and the challenges posed to traditionalist communities by modernity.

As **Yugoslavia** moved away from the Stalinist dogmas in the 1950s, a new wave of authors broke from the mold of socialist realism. Key figures among it were the prose writer Simon Drakul (1930–1999), the poets and essayists **Mateja Matevski** and **Gane Todorovski**, as well as the critics Milan Gjurčinov (b. 1928) and Georgi Stardelov (b. 1930). Yet it was from the 1960s onward that Macedonian-language literature reached a stage of maturity with the short stories of **Živko Čingo** and the poetry collections of **Petre Andreevski**, Vlada Urošević (b. 1934), and **Bogomil Gjuzel**. Though the generation was nurtured in state- and party-sponsored institutions such as **Skopje** University, the Writers’ Association, and the poetry festivals at **Struga** and **Veles** (Racin’s Days), some of its representatives did not shy away from challenging the conformist attitudes of the day. The poet Jovan Kotevski (1932–2001) was even imprisoned in 1985 by the regimes for his dissenting views, spurring a campaign for his release by the international PEN club.

The socialist period also witnessed the growth of literature in Albanian and Turkish, cultivated by state institutions such as the minority-language periodicals, theaters, and, from the 1970s onward, the university in Prishtina. Beyond doyens such as **Luan Starova** or **Ljutvi Rusi**, the names to note are **Ali Aliu**, Abdulaziz Islami (b. 1930), Murat Isaku (b. 1928), Agim Vinca (b. 1947), and **Kim Mehmeti**.

As **Yugoslavia** disintegrated, writers, playwrights, and literary critics entered party politics. The poet **Ljubčo Georgievski** and **Ljubiša Georgievski** laid the foundations of the anticommunist opposition, while the eminent poet and critic Venko Andonovski (b. 1964) joined the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**. Andonovski and his colleagues, such as academician Katica Kjulafkova (b. 1951), have been at the forefront of debates on history and identity in the media, though critical engagement with the national grand narrative has rarely been their forte. At present yet another wave of authors seeks to overcome the petty politicking and provincialization of literary life, represented by the circle around the journal *Blesok*

(Shine) or young critics and storytellers like Žarko Trajanoski (b. 1969) or Aleks Bukarski (b. 1984), who built a career in the nascent Macedonian blogosphere rather than through the familiar institutional channels and hierarchies. *See also* ART; CINEMA; FOLKLORE.

LJAPČEV, ANDREJ (1866–1933). High-profile politician and activist born in Resen. In the 1880s and 1890s, Ljapčev was an active member of the Macedonian **diaspora** in **Bulgaria**. He took part in the **Young Macedonian Literary Company** and, in March 1895, was among the founders of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. After 1896, Ljapčev was in the public eye as one of the leaders of the Democratic Party. He served as a minister of agriculture from 1908 to 1911 and finance in 1918. In September 1918, Ljapčev also signed on behalf of Bulgaria the cease-fire agreement with the Allied Powers, ending the country's participation in **World War I**.

From 1926 to 1931, Ljapčev reached the peak of his career, becoming Bulgaria's prime minister. In 1927 his government signed the Mollov-Kafandaris agreement with **Greece**, which provided for compensation to the refugees from **Aegean Macedonia** and Western (Greek) Thrace. He also negotiated, under the auspices of the League of Nations, the so-called Refugee Loan with a consortium of Western banks intended to facilitate the immigrants' settlement across Bulgaria (*see* EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA). His administration tolerated the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization's** presence in **Pirin Macedonia**, a virtual state within a state. Known for his consensual style of governing and also his pragmatic attitude, in 1927, Ljapčev legalized, as Workers' Party, the **Bulgarian Communist Party**, which had been banned four years beforehand. *See also* KARAJOV, TOMA; KITANČEV, TRAJKO.

LLESHI, HAXHI (1913–1998). **Partisan** commander, communist functionary, and high-ranking Albanian politician. In 1943–1944, Lleshi led guerrilla units in the **Debar** area. A Member of the Albanian Communist Party's Central Committee, he served as speaker of the parliament between 1953 and 1982. *See also* AGOLI, NEXHAT; RUSI, LJUTVI.

LOZANČEV, ANASTAS DIMEV (1870–1945). Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) activist. An **Exarchist** teacher and later photographer in his native **Bitola**, Lozančev was one of the IMARO's leaders in the town in the 1890s. He participated in the **Salonica** congress in early 1903, which resolved to launch a mass insurgency in Macedonia, a decision Lozančev supported. He was a member of the **Ilinden Uprising** headquarters together with **Boris Sarafov** and **Damjan Gruev**. Lozančev settled in **Sofia** in 1904, returning to Macedonia for a brief period between the **Young Turk Revolution** and the **Balkan Wars**. He was active in the **Ilinden Organization** and participated in the commemorations of Ilinden organized by the Bulgarian authorities in **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II**.

– M –

MACEDON. Ancient kingdom located in the northwestern parts of present-day **Greece** (**Aegean Macedonia**). Established sometime in the 8th century BC, Macedon was, for a brief period of time, the most powerful state in the Mediterranean and western Asia. It reached the peak of its might under **Philip II** and his son, **Alexander the Great**, who conquered most of Greece, various Illyrian and Thracian provinces to the north, and the vast Persian Empire in Asia. Macedon was defeated and turned into a province by the Romans in 148 BC. The kingdom gave a name to the contemporary geographic region of Macedonia. Its historical legacy has been contested by Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, where some claim continuity between the modern nation and **Ancient Macedonians**. *See also* STAR OF VERGINA.

MACEDONIAN. Politically contested regional and ethnic identity label. Depending on the historical period and the social context, *Macedonian* might have several distinctive meanings: 1. Any inhabitant of the geographic region of Macedonia that emerged in the 19th century, irrespective of his or her ethnicity, **language**, or **religion**. 2. A member of the ethnic Macedonian nation that claims as its members all Slavs living in geographic Macedonia and constitutes the majority

population in the Republic of Macedonia (*see* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; MACEDONISM). 3. Any citizen of the Republic of Macedonia (*see also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION). 4. A subject of the original Kingdom of **Macedon** (*see also* ANCIENT MACEDONIANS).

MACEDONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS (**MAKEDONSKA AKADEMIJA NA NAUKITE I UMETNOSTITE, MANU**). The MANU was established in February 1967 with the goal of promoting arts and sciences in Yugoslav Macedonia. It was particularly committed to the research and development of national history, **language**, and culture. The MANU's first president was the philologist, poet, and literary historian **Blaže Koneski**. Other significant figures in its ranks include **Mihajlo Apostolski**, **Harampije Polenaković**, **Ivan Katardžiev**, and **Blaže Ristovski**, as well as eminent foreign academics such as Samuil Bernstein, an authority on South Slavic languages from the Moscow State University, the linguist Victor Friedman from the University of Chicago, and Horace Lunt, a professor of Slavic Studies at Harvard. Presently, the MANU is presided over by the literary scholar Georgi Stardelov (b. 1930), who took over in January 2008 from Cvetan Grozdanov (b. 1936). *See also* INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL HISTORY.

MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. Dynasty in **Byzantium** established by Emperor Basil I (ca. 811–886), an Armenian coming from the region of **Adrianople**, which was known at the time as *Thema Makedonikon*. Among the most prominent members of the dynasty, in power until 1057, was **Basil II the Bulgarslayer**, the conqueror of **Tsar Samuel's** state. The dynasty is also associated with the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, a period in Byzantine art and cultural history.

MACEDONIAN EMIGRANT FEDERATIVE ORGANIZATION. *See* FEDERALISTS.

MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE (**MAKEDONSKI JAZIK**). **Language** from the eastern branch of the South Slavic family related to Bulgarian and also to Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian. According to the 2002

population census, Macedonian is spoken by 1,644,815 of the Republic of Macedonia's citizens. The total number of speakers, including in the neighboring countries and the **diaspora** in North America, Australia, and western Europe, is in the region of 2,000,000.

The language has a complex history that reflects the turbulent past of the Macedonian region. From the early 19th century onward, there was a growing **literature** production in Slavic dialects from geographic Macedonia by writers and educators such as **Joakim Kŭrčovski**, the **Miladinov** brothers, **Grigor Pŭrličev**, and so on. Scholarship in Yugoslav Macedonia has seen this period as one of "national rebirth" defined by the emergence of a distinctive national language. By contrast, Bulgarian academics emphasize that these regional norms were typically described as "Bulgarian" and that by the 1880s, the local Slavic intelligentsia had accepted the standardized language based on eastern Bulgarian dialects. In response, **Blaže Koneski** and others have compared this development to the Vienna compromise of 1850 leading to the emergence of a common Serbo-Croatian language. They have also stressed various attempts in the 1890s for reforming the Bulgarian norm to bring it closer to Macedonian dialects as well as the literary works such as *Macedonian Blood Wedding* (1900) by the playwright **Vojdan Černodrinski** (see also YOUNG MACEDONIAN LITERARY COMPANY).

The language question was central to the writings of **Krste Misirkov**, who suggested the dialects of **Bitola** and **Prilep** as a common Macedonian standard. However, the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** and even its left-wing offshoots in the interwar period, such as the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**, did not put linguistic separatism on their agenda and continued using literary Bulgarian as a means of written communication and propaganda.

Writing in Slavic Macedonian dialects was revived in **Vardar Macedonia** during the 1920s and particularly 1930s, when the influence of the **Exarchist** schools withered. About 25 authors writing poetry and drama in Macedonian Slavic dialects were active through the period (see ILJOSKI, VASIL; KRLE, RISTO; MARKOVSKI, VENKO; NEDELKOVSKI, KOLE; PANOV, ANTON; RACIN, KOČO). The vernacular was also heavily influenced by Serbian, the official language in the area and also a major channel of cultural for-

mation. As a rule, most male Macedonian Slavs in that period were bilingual, as they used both their local dialects, varying considerably from region to region, and Serbian, with many also proficient in standard Bulgarian.

During **World War II**, Slavic Macedonian dialects were used by the communist **partisans** in their underground publications. The **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia's** declaration of August 1944 called for the elaboration of an alphabet and a standard Macedonian language. In November 1944, codification was entrusted to a commission of academics and language experts. The latter soon divided into a faction headed by **Venko Markovski** insisting on the preservation of the so-called dark vowel (Љ) in the script, and a group around Blaže Koneski that wanted an alphabet analogous to the one established by Vuk Karadžić in **Serbia** in the mid-19th century. The communist leadership decided to convene a second commission, headed by Koneski, which resolved to discard the dark vowel. Following an intervention by Milovan Djilas from Belgrade, the two factions reached an agreement by May 1945 on the alphabet, which again favored Koneski's position. The norm itself was based on the central dialects of Bitola and Prilep, which was more or less supported by all factions, though features from other regions were incorporated as well. In the 1950s, there were short-lived attempts at alternative codifications on the basis of dialects from **Aegean Macedonia** by the **Greek Civil War** émigrés in Eastern Europe.

Standard Macedonian was popularized in the following decades through channels such as the school system and the print media. A grammar appeared in 1946, while the official daily ***Nova Makedonija*** had a circulation of 16,000 by the early 1950s (see KEPESKI, KRUME). The process has been studied by Western historians such as Stefan Troebst, Stephen Palmer, and Robert King. Radio and **cinema**, and later TV, played a role, too. Regular broadcasting began in early 1945. In May 1946, the first film with Macedonian subtitles appeared, and in 1952 the republic produced its first fiction film, ***Frosina***. The same year, **Slavko Janevski** became the first author writing in standard Macedonian to publish a widely read novel.

As one of the relatively small languages in **Yugoslavia**, Macedonian borrowed vocabulary from Serbo-Croat as well as from Western

languages, though Serbo-Croatisms have been more prevalent in the spoken language. After 1991, there have been campaigns to purify Macedonian and also calls for revising Koneski's alphabet by certain anticommunist intellectuals. As a rule, these have been repudiated by the academic establishment (*see* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS).

In the mid-1990s, the so-called language dispute became a sticking point in relations with **Bulgaria**. Sofia refused to sign an agreement mentioning explicitly a separate Macedonian language, seeing the latter as a regional form of Bulgarian. The dispute was cast aside with a standard diplomatic formula adopted in February 1999, which refers to the "constitutional languages" in the respective treaty clauses. Yet many governmental institutions in **Sofia**, notably the State Historical Archive, have explicitly mentioned Macedonian in their official agreements with their Skopje counterparts, proving that the language issue is a largely symbolic one. *See also* EDUCATION.

MACEDONIAN LITERARY CIRCLE (1938–1941) (MAKEDONSKI LITERATUREN KRŪŽOK). A group of leftist writers from different parts of geographic Macedonia active in the mid-1930s. Based in **Sofia**, the Macedonian Literary Circle was close to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** and was directed by its member the poet **Nikola Vapcarov**. It also included the poets **Kole Nedelkovski** and **Venko Markovski** writing in Macedonian dialects, and Gjorgji Abadžiev (1910–1963), later a notable writer of historical novels in Yugoslav Macedonia. They formed a discussion club committed to the idea of the Macedonian Slavs as a distinctive national group. It focused on subjects such as the development of a **Macedonian language**, though Vapcarov and other members wrote exclusively in standard Bulgarian, and **literature** as well as the study of Macedonia's past. *See also* IVANOVSKI, VASIL; MACEDONISM.

MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (MOC; MAKEDONSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CRKVA). Religious institution established in 1958 in **Ohrid** at the initiative of the communist leadership in Yugoslav Macedonia. The MOC traces its origins back to the **Ohrid Archbishopric** restored in 1958. It is conceived as the national church of the Macedonian nation. The church proclaimed its independence (autocephaly) from the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1967, on the 200th

anniversary of the abolition of the Ohrid Archbishopric by the Ottoman authorities. Although it had ratified the restoration of the autonomous diocese in Ohrid in 1959, the Serbian Orthodox Church did not approve full separation, and subsequent negotiations on the issue have been futile. As a result, the MOC has not been recognized by any other orthodox church in the world.

The church has seven eparchies on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and three in western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand covering the Macedonian **diaspora**. Since October 1999, it is headed by Stefan, Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia. His predecessors were **Michael** (Mihail), Gabriel (Gavril, 1986–1993), Angelarius (Angelarij, 1981–1986), and **Dositheus** (Dositej). In 2002, Jovan (Zoran Vraniškovski), Metropolitan of **Veles** and the **Vardar** Region, joined the Serbian Orthodox Church, reestablishing the Autonomous Diocese of Ohrid. The schism caused a public scandal, and Jovan was sentenced to 18 months in prison on counts of inciting religious intolerance. *See also* RELIGION.

MACEDONIAN PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION. **Diaspora** association established by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** in 1922 at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in the **United States** under the name Macedonian Political Organization (MPO). The organization's chapters across North America bring together mostly emigrants from the pre-1945 period. It has campaigned for a Macedonian polity comprising the region's parts in **Yugoslavia**, **Greece**, and **Bulgaria**. However, the MPO, which financially supported the IMRO's exiled leader, **Ivan Mihajlov**, has opposed the notion of a separate ethnic nation distinctive from the Bulgarian one (*see* MACEDONISM). Since the 1970s, certain MPO figures have collaborated on this basis with official **Sofia**. Though less vocal than other Macedonian emigrant associations such as the Toronto-based United Macedonians, the MPO lobbied for the recognition of Macedonia's independence in the 1990s. *See also* ČKATROV, JORDAN.

MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT (MAKEDONSKI NARODEN POKRET, MANAPO). Left-wing organization founded in 1936 by students in **Belgrade**, **Zagreb**, and **Skopje**. The MANAPO issued a declaration calling for the transformation of **Yugoslavia** into

a federation, with **Vardar Macedonia** as one of the constituent units. It reflected the mid-1930s Comintern policy of popular fronts uniting all “progressive forces” embraced also by the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia**. The MANAPO also attracted in its ranks **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** adherents such as **Dimităr Gjuzelov** and the **Čkatrov** brothers, who insisted on full separation from Yugoslavia. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA; MACEDONIAN YOUTH SECRET REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.

MACEDONIAN QUESTION. 1. The question concerning the political future of Ottoman Macedonia in the 19th and the first part of the 20th centuries. **Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia** all put forward rival claims to the region. The squabbles also involved great powers such as Austria-Hungary and Russia, which also eyed the **Ottoman Empire’s** territories. For its part, the **Internal Macedono(-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** campaigned for granting Macedonia autonomous status and transforming it into a multinational entity, not unlike Switzerland. The Macedonian Question was partly solved after **World War I** with the establishment of clear state borders cutting across Macedonia. The IMRO’s designs for independence and unification of Macedonia proved unrealistic, as did also the communist movement’s plans in the interwar period and the 1940s to merge **Vardar, Pirin, and Aegean Macedonia** into a single republic within **Yugoslavia** or in a wider Balkan federation.

2. The question about the national belonging of Macedonia’s Slavs, the most significant ethnic element in the province. Prior to the **Balkan Wars**, their loyalties were claimed by Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens. All three national programs were embraced by significant numbers of the urban elites and the intelligentsia, who also shaped the ideas and the policies of the “mother states.” In the interwar period, and particularly after **World War II**, the idea that Macedonian Slavs constituted a separate national organism gained popular support. While this seemingly solved the problem about the “true” national identity of Macedonian Slavs, this formulation opened new debates and controversies as to the **language** and the history of the majority in present-day Republic of Macedonia. *See also* MACEDONIAN; MACEDONISM.

MACEDONIAN SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE (*MAKEDONSKI NAUČEN INSTITUT*). Academic institution established in **Sofia** in December 1923. The institute's membership comprised distinguished scholars coming from Macedonia, such as the philosophy professor Ivan Georgov (1862–1936) from **Veles**, the classicist Aleksandar Balabanov (1879–1955) from **Štip**, the economist Nikola Stojanov (1874–1967) from Dojran, and the philologist and historian **Ljubomir Miletić**, hailing from Štip. The institute published extensively on the history of Macedonia, concentrating on the anti-**Ottoman** struggles before the **Balkan Wars** (see SILJANOV, HRISTO). Close to the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, its members propagated the cause of Macedonia's independence from **Yugoslavia** and **Greece** in the West. The institute was disbanded in 1947, and its rich archival collection was transferred to **Skopje**, where it provided a basis for the **Institute for National History**. The institute and its periodical, *Macedonian Review*, were restored in 1990 by a group of scholars led by professor Petūr Šapkarev (1908–1997), **Kosta Čirnušanov**, and the historian Dimitūr Gocev (b. 1945), originally from Yugoslav Macedonia. See also INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES (SALONICA).

MACEDONIAN YOUTH SECRET REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (*MAKEDONSKA MLADEŽKA TAJNA REVOLUCIONNA ORGANIZACIJA*). Organization established in 1922 in Zagreb by students from **Vardar Macedonia**. The group, whose statute was signed by **Todor Aleksandrov**, was a subsidiary of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. It established cells across Serb-held Macedonia and in some western European universities. The organization was discovered by the authorities in May 1927, and 20 of its leading members were sentenced to long-term imprisonment at a trial in **Skopje** in December. One of the defenders of the students was Ante Pavelić, the future leader of the Croatian *Ustaša*. See also BUNEVA, MARA; ČUČKOV, EMANUIL; GJUZELOV, DIMITŪR; MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT.

MACEDONISM. Macedonism or Macedonianism is the doctrine that Macedonian Slavs represent a distinctive national group, separate from the neighboring Bulgarians and **Serbs**. Prior to the **Balkan**

Wars, Macedonist ideas were shared and disseminated by a handful of intellectuals and activists such as **Krste Misirkov** and **Dimitrija Čupovski**. They were much less influential than the Bulgarian, Serb, or Greek nationalisms, or indeed the idea of establishing a multinational autonomous entity and, therefore, a supranational and inclusive Macedonian identity propagated by the **Internal Macedono (-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** (*see* MACEDONIAN QUESTION).

Macedonism grew in significance during the interwar period, both in **Vardar Macedonia** and among the left-leaning **diaspora** in **Bulgaria**. In the 1930s, the notion of a Macedonian nation was also endorsed by the Comintern. It was taken up by the communist **partisans** from 1941 to 1944, who created a Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav federation together with its modern cultural and educational institutions.

Following **World War II**, Macedonism became the dominant national ideology among the Slavs in Vardar Macedonia. It was also popular among the **diaspora** from **Aegean Macedonia** but was less successful in **Pirin Macedonia**. That was due to the reversal of the Bulgarian communists' policies in the early 1960s. Macedonism developed in a number of directions from 1945 to 1991, with one strand of activists and popular historians highlighting the connection with Ancient **Macedon** rather than the Slavic origins and **language** of the modern Macedonians. Others have sought to incorporate into the national narrative the grand figures of the IMRO's right wing, such as **Todor Aleksandrov**, previously dismissed as pro-Bulgarian. *See also* MACEDONIAN; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; REVISIONIST HISTORIANS.

MALESKI, DENKO (1946–). Prominent diplomat, academic, and public intellectual, son of **Vlado Maleski**. Maleski is a professor of international law at Skopje University. He was independent Macedonia's first minister of foreign affairs from 1991 to 1993 and an ambassador at the **United Nations** from 1993 to 1997.

MALESKI, VLADO (1919–1984). Celebrated writer, publicist, and political activist. Born in **Struga**, Maleski took part in the **partisan movement**. In that period, he authored the lyrics of the national an-

them *Denes nad Makedonija* (Today over Macedonia), music by Todor Skalovski. In December 1944, Maleski headed Radio Skopje, which was beginning its regular broadcasts in **Macedonian**. He also wrote the script for the first film in the language, *Frosina*. *See also* CINEMA; MALESKI, DENKO.

MANAKI, MILTIADI (MILTON) (1882–1964) AND YANNAKI (1878–1954). Pioneer filmmakers of **Vlach** origin born in the village of Avdella near Grevena, present-day Greek Macedonia. The brothers ran a photographic studio in Yannina and in 1905 relocated to **Bitola**. After Yannaki brought a Bioscope camera from London, the duo shot many short films documenting important events such as the 1911 visit of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (1844–1918) as well as everyday life in Macedonia. The footage is now kept in the **cinema** archive of **Skopje**. They became the first cinematographers in the Balkans. In the 1920s, Manaki operated the first cinema in Bitola. Since 1979 the city has been hosting an annual festival named after the two brothers. In 1995, at the height of the dispute with **Greece**, the famous director Theo Angelopoulos released *Ulysses' Gaze*, a film dedicated to the two brothers, of whom one (Yannaki) died in Salonica and the other (Milton) in Bitola.

MANČEVSKI, MILČO (1959–). Macedonian filmmaker, photographer, and essayist. In 1994, Mančevski achieved his greatest success with *Pred doždot* (Before the Rain), a tale of tragic love set in ethnically divided rural Macedonia. The work, whose release came at the height of the conflict in Bosnia, won an Oscar nomination in the best-foreign-film category. It also won a range of international prizes. Mančevski continued with *Prašina* (Dust, 2001), set at the time of the **Ilinden Uprising**. He has also directed a great number of short movies, documentaries, and commercial TV spots. *See also* CINEMA; POPOV, STOJAN.

MĂRGĂRIT, APOSTOL (1832–1903). **Vlach** educator born in Avdella in the Pindus Range, the southernmost part of geographic Macedonia. As a teacher at the town of Klisura in **Aegean Macedonia**, he introduced **Aromanian** into the curriculum. Mărgărit was persecuted by the Greek clergy but obtained support from the Romanian state.

After the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the independence of Romania, Mărgărit was appointed chief inspector of the Romanian schools in the **Ottoman** lands. He succeeded in opening a number of new schools across Macedonia. Mărgărit wrote several petitions to the Sublime Porte on behalf of the **Vlachs** and also works on the ethnography, **language**, and history of the community. *See also* CAPIDAN, THEODOR; WEIGAND, GUSTAV.

MARKO, PRINCE. Heroic figure from the epic folk songs and legends of the South Slavs. The prototype was Marko Mrnjavčević (1350s–1395), the lord of **Prilep**, who succeeded his father *Kral(j)* (king) Vukašin. Hence the name *Krali* or *Krale Marko* (**Macedonian**/Bulgarian) and *Kraljević Marko* (Serbian). In the popular memory, Marko is celebrated for his superhuman strength and many exploits. The actual historical character, however, died fighting for his **Ottoman** suzerain in a battle in Wallachia in 1395. *See also* DUŠAN THE MIGHTY; MRNJAVČEVIĆ DYNASTY.

MARKOVSKI, VENKO (1915–1988). Intellectual, political activist, and poet. Markovski was born as Veniamin Milanov Tošev in **Skopje**. Settling in **Sofia** in 1937, he published poems in his native dialect in periodicals such as *Ilustracija Ilinden* (*see* ILINDEN ORGANIZATION). His first collections *Oginot* (the Fire) and *Narodni bigori* (People's Bitterness) appeared in 1938. A communist, Markovski was active in the **Macedonian Literary Circle** and embraced its politics of **Macedonism**. After 1943 he joined the **partisans** and was part of their headquarters and **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**.

In 1945, Markovski participated in the first commission on the codification of the **Macedonian literary language**, where he championed an alphabet closer to the Bulgarian than to the Serbo-Croat graphic system. He was imprisoned in 1948 as a supporter of the **Cominform** resolution and sent to the infamous Goli Otok camp for five years. In 1956 Markovski settled in Sofia, where he published a number of works in Bulgarian. He also supported the Bulgarian historiography's stance on the **Macedonian Question**. *See also* LITERATURE; NEDELKOVSKI, KOLE; VAPCAROV, NIKOLA.

MARTINOSKI, NIKOLA (1903–1993). Famous painter of **Vlach** origin born in **Kruševo**. Martinoski studied in Bucharest and Paris. After 1929 he staged a number of exhibitions in **Skopje** and **Belgrade** and obtained Yugoslav-wide acclaim. After 1944, Martinoski was involved in the establishment of a number of cultural institutions in the republic, including the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** (1967). *See also* ART; LIČENOSKI, LAZAR.

MATEVSKI, MATEJA (1929–). Eminent poet, translator, and scholar. Born in Istanbul to a family from the **Gostivar** region, Matevski studied literature at the universities of **Belgrade** and **Skopje** in the 1950s. He published a number of poetry collections as well as translations from Albanian, Serbo-Croat, Slovenian, and French. Matevski also taught at the Faculty of Drama Studies at Skopje University. From 2001 to 2004, he headed the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. *See also* LITERATURE.

MATKOVSKI, ALEKSANDAR (1922–1992). Historian born in **Kruševo**, the founding father of Oriental studies in Yugoslav Macedonia. Matkovski published widely on the **Ottoman** period. *See also* INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL HISTORY.

MATOV, HRISTO "BRUT" (1869–1922). **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist, ideologue, and publicist. Born in **Struga**, Matov was one of the first graduates of the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica** and later taught across the province and in the Bulgarian Principality. He was introduced to the IMARO by **Damjan Gruev** as a school inspector in the **Skopje** district.

Matov's career advance in the organization was rapid. In 1896, he was already a member of the Central Committee and held the position until 1901. He became the IMARO's principal theorist and authored pamphlets on the objectives and tactics of its armed struggle. Matov also elaborated the plan of the **Ilinden Uprising** while exiled in Bodrum by the Ottoman authorities together with Damjan Gruev and other leaders. After 1903, he was a key figure in the centralist faction and a critic of the **Federalists**. Matov narrowly escaped death in December 1907 when the Federalist **Todor Panica** assassinated

Ivan Garvanov and **Boris Sarafov**, his colleagues in the organization's Foreign Representation, in **Sofia**. In that period, he mentored the future leader of the organization **Todor Aleksandrov**. During **World War I** Matov was affiliated to the Bulgarian army's headquarters and edited the paper *Rodina* (Motherland) in Skopje.

Matov died impoverished and suffering from a mental disorder in Sofia in 1922. His brother, Milan Matov (1875–1962), was a famous band leader in the Skopje area. Milan's son, Hristo Matov, was among the founders of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies** in the early 1990s. *See also* DELČEV, GOCE; PETROV, GJORČE; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

MAY MANIFESTO. A common platform adopted by the Comintern and the leadership of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** on 15 May 1924. The May Manifesto was motivated by the Soviet Union's objective to forge an alliance with various national movements in the Balkans in the interest of spreading revolution. The IMRO was also searching for allies after Aleksandŭr Cankov's government refused to change **Bulgaria's** policy toward *rapprochement* with **Yugoslavia**. The manifesto called all Macedonians to struggle against not only Greek and Serbian but also Bulgarian "imperialism" and for the creation of a separate Macedonian entity within a Balkan federation.

Published by the Comintern on 18 July in the Vienna periodical *Fédération Balkanique*, the document led to a split within the IMRO ranks. While **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** denied even signing the manifesto, **Petŭr Čaulev** and **Dimitar Vlahov**, the organization's representative in the Vienna talks, continued their support. The May Manifesto also exacerbated the already shaky relationship between the IMRO and Cankov. It was probably one of the reasons for Aleksandrov's murder in August 1924, which is still shrouded in mystery. The manifesto was a programmatic statement of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** affiliated with the Comintern. *See also* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

MEHMETI, ERMIRA (1979–). Macedonian Albanian politician born in **Skopje**. Currently, she is the spokesperson of the **Demo-**

cratic Union for Integration. Mehmeti stands out as one of the most prominent young public figures from the Albanian community. *See also* ARIFI, TEUTA.

MEHMETI, KIM (1955–). Macedonian Albanian writer, journalist, civil-society activist, and translator. Born in Grčec near **Skopje**, Mehmeti worked for the Albanian-language daily *Flaka e Vëllazërimit* (Flame of Brotherhood) and in 2000 founded, together with Iso Rusi, the independent weekly *Lobi*. He has also been active in various civic organizations, including the Macedonian branch of the Open Society Institute and the Center for Multicultural Understanding and Cooperation. Since 1986, Mehmeti has been publishing fiction in both Albanian and Macedonian. He is the author of more than 10 books, collections of short stories, and novels, some of which have been translated into a number of languages. *See also* ALIU, ALI; LITERATURE; RUSI, LJUTVI.

MELAS, PAVLOS (1870–1904). Military officer, one of the leaders of the Greek guerrilla units active in Macedonia after the defeat of the **Ilinden Uprising**. Born in Marseille to a family from northern Epirus, Melas studied at a military school in Athens and took part in the abortive war against the **Ottoman Empire** in 1897. He entered the Castoria/Kostur region in the summer of 1904 with a band of 35 irregulars (*andartes*) challenging the local **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** detachments. Melas was helped in his endeavor by the bishop **Germanos Karavangelis** of Castoria and Lambros Koromilas (1856–1923), the Greek consul in **Salonica**. He was killed in October during a skirmish with Ottoman troops, allegedly informed on by Mitre Pandžurov-Vlaot (the **Vlach**), a local IMARO commander. Melas's life was popularized through a book written by his close associate and brother-in-law, Ion Dragoumis (1878–1920). His name became a symbol of the Greek efforts to reclaim Macedonia as a part of the national homeland. *See also* AEGEAN MACEDONIA; GREECE.

MICHAEL (MIHAIL) (1919–1999). Macedonian cleric and church leader. Michael was born as Metodi Gogov in Novo Selo, a suburb of **Štip**. Delegate to the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Lib-**

eration of Macedonia in 1944, Mihail was a professor of theology at the University of **Skopje**. He was appointed metropolitan of Skopje in 1989 and head of the **Macedonian Orthodox Church** four years later. *See also* DOSITHEUS.

MIHAJLOV, IVAN (VANČO OR VANČE) (1896–1990). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** leader, political activist, and memoirist. Mihajlov was born in Novo Selo, a suburb of **Štip**. He moved to **Sofia** after **World War I** and became involved in the IMRO while studying law at the university. Mihajlov became a secretary to **Todor Aleksandrov** and after his murder in August 1924 was elected to the IMRO's Central Committee. Together with **Petūr Šandanov**, he directed the purges against the left wing in the Macedonian movement carried out in Gorna Džumaja (present-day Blageovgrad) and other Bulgarian cities. Among the victims were Aleko Vasilev, Todor Aleksandrov's murderer, the old allies of **Jane Sandanski**, Aleksandūr Bujnov and **Čudomir Kantardžiev**, **Arseni Jovkov**, and **Dimo Hadžidimov**.

Mihajlov changed the organization's tactics from guerrilla campaigns against the Yugoslav forces in **Vardar Macedonia** to individual terrorist attacks against administrators, military officers, and police chiefs. After one of those assassinations, claiming the life of General Mihailo Kovačević in 1927, the Serb authorities retaliated, killing Mihajlov's father and brother. In 1928 Mihajlov broke ranks with **Aleksandūr Protogero**v and ordered his assassination, which unleashed an internecine war (*see* PROTOGEROVISTS).

Mihajlov left **Bulgaria** after the military coup of 19 May 1934. He lived in Turkey and Poland and during **World War II** settled in Zagreb, the capital of the so-called Independent State of Croatia ruled by Mihajlov's ally and friend Ante Pavelić. Unlike many of his supporters, Mihajlov was opposed to the Bulgarian annexation of Macedonia in April 1941 and remained in favor of independence. However, he turned down a Nazi plan to establish a puppet state during his visit to **Skopje** in September 1944.

After the war, Mihajlov sought refuge in Spain and Italy. Financed by members of the Macedonian **diaspora**, he published a number of books and pamphlets denouncing the communist rule in Yugoslav Macedonia, asserting that Macedonian Slavs were of Bulgarian

stock, and arguing for secession from the federation. His supporters were persecuted in both communist **Yugoslavia** and in Bulgaria (see MIHAJLOVISTS). There are indications, however, that by the 1980s Bulgarian authorities were in contact with Mihajlov, who shared many of their views on the **Macedonian Question**. In the early 1990s, Mihajlov's legacy was claimed by both the proindependence and nationalist **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** in the Republic of Macedonia and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies** in Bulgaria.

MIHAJLOV, PANČO (1888–1925). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** commander and poet. Mihajlov was born in **Štip**. Prior to the **Balkan Wars**, he was a teacher in Macedonia and **Bulgaria**. In the 1920s Mihajlov sided with **Todor Aleksandrov** and directed several of the major attacks on the Yugoslav authorities in **Vardar Macedonia**. Mihajlov was also in charge of the occupation of Kjustendil in December 1922, an act of defiance against the Agrarian Union government in **Sofia**. He published two books of poetry and wrote articles for the Macedonian emigrant press in Sofia. Mihajlov was killed in Sofia at the orders of **Ivan Mihajlov**.

MIHAJLOVISTS. Faction within the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** led by **Ivan Mihajlov**. The Mihajlovists were active between the mid-1920s and the early 1950s in **Bulgaria** and in **Vardar Macedonia**. The most significant figures include **Kiril Drangov**, the **Čkatrov** brothers, **Dimităr Gjuzelov**, and Mihajlov's colleagues in the last IMRO Central Committee from the 1930s, **Vladimir Kurtev** (1886–1946) and **Georgi “Žoro” Nastev** (?–1946). The group was bitterly opposed to the faction around General **Aleksandăr Protogerov**, waging a turf war of assassinations in the streets of **Sofia** and other Bulgarian cities. The killings eroded the IMRO's power and political prestige in the country. The faction was banned in May 1934 after a military coup, and its key activists were detained for a period of time.

The Mihajlovists participated in the Bulgarian administration in **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II**. In the summer of 1944, **Jordan Čkatrov** negotiated with **Metodija Andonov-Čento** its par-

ticipation in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. After 1945, however, the group was persecuted in both **Yugoslavia** and Bulgaria, where its one-time rivals, the **Protogero-vists**, had joined the ruling **Bulgarian Communist Party**. In January 1945, the Yugoslav **partisans** executed nearly 200 of its activists in **Veles**, **Prilep**, and **Kumanovo** as “collaborationists with the occupier.” There were high-profile trials against prominent supporters of Ivan Mihajlov, such as the Čkatrov brothers; Dimitŭr Gjuzelov and Spiro Kitinčev (mayor of **Skopje** before 1944); the leaders of the Democratic Front “Ilinden 1903,” **Ilija Čulev**, Kosta Hrisimov, and Dimitŭr Zlatarov; as well as Dr. Asen Tatarčev from Resen; Dr. Konstantin (Kočo) Robev; the brothers Boris, Hristo, and Stefan Svetiev from **Bitola**; and the Kocarev family from **Ohrid**. In Yugoslav Macedonia, up to the 1990s, “mihajlovism” was synonymous with separatist and anti-Yugoslav nationalism. *See also* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS.

MIJACI. Ethnographic group inhabiting areas of western Macedonia. The name comes from the first person plural form of the personal pronoun, which in the local dialect is rendered as *mie* instead of the standard *nie*. *Mijaci* have migrated to other parts of the country too (e.g., the villages of Smilevo near **Bitola** or Papradite in **Azot**). *See also* ART; DEBAR; REKA.

MILADINOV, DIMITRI (1810–1862) AND KONSTANTIN (1830–1862). Famous educators, writers, and ethnographers from **Struga**, considered the pioneering figures of the “national awakening” in Macedonia. A graduate of the high school in Yannina, Dimitri was a teacher in Greek-language schools in **Ohrid** and other Macedonian towns. In 1856, he introduced the local Slavic dialect in the school at **Prilep** where he taught. His Slavophilism and participation in the movement for Bulgarian ecclesiastical independence made him an enemy of the Greek clergy. He collected money for the construction of the St. Stephen Church in Istanbul and contributed articles to *Carigradski vestnik* (Constantinople Herald).

Konstantin was also taught at the Greek High School in Yannina from 1844 to 1847 but later attended Athens University (1849–1852). He continued his studies in Russia (Odessa and Moscow),

where he wrote poems and articles appearing in various Bulgarian periodicals.

In 1861, the Miladinovs published in Zagreb a collection titled *Bŭlgarski narodni pesni* (Bulgarian Folk Songs), containing material gathered by the brothers during their trips across Macedonia and other parts of the Balkans or received from other contributors. This included 665 songs, fairy tales and legends, riddles, descriptions of customs, and children's games. The publication was sponsored by Monsignor Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the bishop of Djakovo in Croatia, who was a renowned patron of South Slavic unity. The contact was made by Konstantin, the editor of the book, who had visited the bishop in Vienna. In February 1861, Dimitri was arrested by the **Ottoman** authorities on the request of the Metropolitan of Ohrid. His brother tried to arrange his release but was himself jailed. Both died from typhus in January 1862 while imprisoned in Istanbul. There were rumors that the brothers were poisoned by local Greeks.

The Miladinov brothers became iconic figures for the Bulgarian nationalist movement in Macedonia. They were later appropriated by the literary and **language** historians in Yugoslav Macedonia as part of an authentic Macedonian "National Rebirth" (*Nacionalna pre-rodба*). The latter have argued that the 1861 collection was named "Bulgarian" on account of the 77 songs from northern Thrace. Editions of the book published in **Skopje** under titles such as *The Miladinovs' Collection* have polarized Bulgarian and Macedonian scholars. Konstantin is also credited as one of the founders of Macedonian **literature**, and his poem *Tŭga za jug* (Longing for the South) is a standard entry in schoolbooks. In honor of the two brothers, their native Struga has been hosting annually an international festival of poetry since 1966.

Dimitri's daughter Carevna Miladinova-Aleksieva was a famous **Exarchist** teacher and memoirist. The third brother, Naum Miladinov (1817–1895), a graduate of the Patriarch's Seminary in the Island of Halki, was a renowned music teacher who worked in **Sofia** after 1878. *See also* FOLKLORE; PURLIČEV, GRIGOR; ŽINZIFOV, RAJKO.

MILETIĆ, LJUBOMIR (1863–1937). Distinguished university professor, philologist, and historian. Miletić was born in **Štip** to the fam-

ily of Djordje Miletić, a schoolteacher from Vojvodina. He published in the field of Slavic linguistics, ethnography, and history and was also closely associated with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. After the **Ilinden Uprising**, he personally recorded the memoirs of a number of the organization's leaders and band commanders. Miletić was one of the founders of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** and from 1926 to 1937 chaired the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

MILJOVSKI, JANE. Respected economist, son of Kiril Miljevski. Miljevski was Macedonia's minister of finance in the early 1990s and gained a reputation of reformer. He has also served on the board of directors of the Macedonian Stock Exchange. *See also* PRIVATIZATION.

MILJOVSKI, KIRIL (1912–1983). Communist functionary and scholar born in Resen to a prominent **Exarchist** family. His father Nikola, a graduate of the high school in **Salonica**, was for many years a Bulgarian teacher. Miljevski studied veterinary medicine in Zagreb, where he was among the leaders of the Macedonian student community (*see* MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT). He joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1941 and participated in the **partisan movement** in the **Bitola** region for which he was imprisoned in 1942–1943. In 1944 Miljevski took part in the establishment of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** and later was among the leaders of the communist secret police in **Vardar Macedonia**. Following **World War II**, Miljevski was the first rector of the newly established university in **Skopje** as well as a founding member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** (1967). He also served as Yugoslav ambassador to several countries, including **Bulgaria**. *See also* MALESKI, VLADO; MILJOVSKI, JANE; UZUNOVSKI, CVETKO.

MILLET. Ottoman term meaning confessional community. Under its religious leader, each *millet* enjoyed partial autonomy in governing the civil affairs of its members. The *millet* concept privileged confessional affiliation to ethnic or linguistic identity. Thus a plethora of ethnic groups was included in the Greek Orthodox *millet* (*millet-i*

Rûm), while Armenians belonged to three different *millet*s. Slavs were predominantly subsumed into the Greek Orthodox *millet*, but there were also small groups belonging to the Catholic and the **Protestant** *millet*s.

The concept was “nationalized” only in the latter half of the 19th century as a result of the **Tanzimat** Reforms. With the 1870 establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** there emerged a Bulgarian *millet* claiming the Slavs in Macedonia, Thrace, and the lands north of the Balkan Range. It was distinguished from the Greek Orthodox *millet* on the basis of ethnonational identity, not religious dogma. At the time, the Bulgarian secession was judged an unpardonable act of “phyletism” (literally, tribalism) by the **Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople**, which excommunicated all **Exarchists**. “Tribalization,” however, continued. Serbs were also promoted into a *millet* after obtaining church independence from Constantinople in 1879. Similarly, in May 1905, the Sublime Porte recognized a separate **Vlach** *millet* (*millet-i Ulah*). *See also* OTTOMAN EMPIRE; RELIGION.

MILOŠOSKI, ANTONIO (1976–). Macedonian politician born in **Tetovo**, leading member of **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)**. A graduate of **Skopje** University’s Law Faculty, Milošoski was the deputy leader of IMRO-DPMNU’s youth chapter. In the period between 1998 and 2001, he was part of **Ljubčo Georgievski**’s administration, serving first as head of cabinet for **Dosta Dimovska**, the minister of interior, and then as the government spokesman. Following his withdrawal from the government, he pursued a master’s degree at the University of Bonn and a doctorate at the University of Duisburg, focusing on the relations between the Republic of Macedonia and **Greece**. In 2006, he became foreign minister in the government of **Nikola Gruevski**, continuing in the new cabinet inaugurated after the elections in June 2008. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; KERIM, SRGJAN; MITREVA, ILINKA; STAVRESKI, ZORAN.

MILUTIN (STEFAN UROŠ II) (1253–1321). Serbian king (1282–1321) from the Nemanjić dynasty. Milutin conquered most of pres-

ent-day Republic of Macedonia during a campaign against **Byzantium** in 1299, and added it to the medieval Serbian state. *See also* DUŠAN THE MIGHTY.

MINČEV, NIKOLA (1915–1997). Communist functionary and Yugoslav official born in Kavadarci. Minčev was involved in the **partisan movement** as a commander of the “Dobri Daskalov” detachment and also took part in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia**. After 1945, he was a high-ranking official in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, serving in various positions, including government minister and speaker of the parliament. *See also* ČEMERSKI, ANGEL; COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA; CRVENKOVSKI, KRSTE; KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR.

MISIRKOV, KRSTE PETKOV (KRŪSTJU PETKOV) (1874–1926). Activist and intellectual celebrated in the Republic of Macedonia as one of the most eloquent advocates of Macedonian ethnonationalism. Misirkov was born in the **Patriarchist** village of Postol (Ayii Apostoli) in present-day **Aegean Macedonia**. He continued his studies in **Belgrade** but in 1890–1891 moved to **Sofia** only to go back to **Serbia** in the following year on a scholarship from the **St. Sava Society**. After 1897, Misirkov was based at St. Petersburg University, where he cooperated with **Dimitrija Čupovski** in the Macedonian Student Association **St. Clement**. In the following years, Misirkov was employed as an **Exarchist** teacher as well as private tutor in the household of the Russian consul in **Bitola**, Aleksandr Rostkovskij.

Rostkovskij was murdered by an Ottoman soldier in August 1903 as the **Ilinden Uprising** was breaking out in the surrounding rural areas. Misirkov left Macedonia and settled in Sofia, where he authored, in the winter of 1903, *Za makedonckite raboti* (On the Macedonian Matters). Written in a Macedonian dialect from the region between **Prilep** and Bitola, the pamphlet argued in favor of separation from the Bulgarians, the establishment of autonomous national institutions within the **Ottoman Empire**, and the elaboration of a standard literary **language**. Misirkov attacked both the **exarchate** and the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** as exponents of the Bulgarian interests in Mace-

donia. In response, he was persecuted by the organization that is believed to have destroyed a number of copies of his booklet. In 1905, Misirkov changed his stance and published a series of articles in the IMARO-affiliated press written from a Bulgarian nationalist perspective. A teacher in Ismail (Bessarabia) and subject of the Russian Empire, Misirkov was a representative of the Bulgarian community in the Moldovan Assembly (*Sfatul Țării*) in 1917–1918. He returned to his earlier ideas on Macedonian nationhood in the mid-1920s while working as a high school headmaster in Karlovo, **Bulgaria**.

The 1903 pamphlet, rich in clericalist and antisocialist overtones, was virtually forgotten until the mid-1940s, when it was rediscovered by young Macedonian scholars such as **Blaže Koneski**, most likely in Sofia. Some believe that Misirkov's ideas and proposals were influential in the codification of the **Macedonian language** by Koneski and his associates in 1945. In Yugoslav Macedonia, Misirkov was cherished as an apostle of "national rebirth" and a towering figure, on a par with **Goce Delčev** and other IMARO grandees. In 1999, Misirkov was chosen as "the greatest Macedonian of the 20th century" after a popular vote. A number of public institutions, notably the Institute for Macedonian Language established in 1953, are named after him. There have been recurrent calls for his bones to be transferred to **Skopje** from Sofia, where they are currently interned. The 2007 discovery of Misirkov's diaries written in Russian in 1913, in which he advocated a pro-Bulgarian stance, sparked off a great controversy in Skopje. *See also* MACEDONISM.

MITREV, DIMITAR (1919–1976). Literary scholar and historian. Mitrev was born in Dedeağaç, the present-day Alexandroupolis in Greek Thrace. His father, Atanas, was a prominent **Exarchist** teacher, and the family moved to **Bulgaria** after the **Balkan Wars**. As a student, Mitrev was active in the left-wing groupings in **Sofia** and took part in the **Macedonian Literary Circle**. He settled in **Skopje** in 1947 to teach at the newly established university. He was also a founder of the Macedonian Writers' Association and the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. Mitrev published on the history of **Pirin Macedonia**, Macedonian poetry and **literature**, and

the work of **Nikola Vapcarov**. *See also* MITREVA, ILINKA; TALEV, DIMITÛR.

MITREVA, ILINKA (1950–). University professor and politician born in **Skopje**, daughter of **Dimitar Mitrev**. In the period 1974 to 2001, Mitreva worked at the department of Romance languages in the University of **Skopje**. She was a member of parliament from 1994 to 2002 from the **Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia** and also served as a minister of foreign affairs in May–November 2001 and between 2002 and 2006. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; KERIM, SRGJAN; MILOŠOSKI, ANTONIO; ŠEKERINSKA, RADMILA.

MOJSOV, LAZAR (1920–). Notable communist functionary, magistrate, and diplomat. Born in Negotino, Mojsov was educated in Krajujevac and at the University of **Belgrade**, where he joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia**. He was a **partisan** and, after 1945, occupied high-ranking offices at the republican and federal level, including prosecutor general, head of the supreme court of the People's Republic of Macedonia, editor-in-chief of *Nova Makedonija* (1953–1958), ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1958 to 1961, and editor-in-chief of the Belgrade daily *Borba* (Struggle). In the 1970s, Mojsov was **Yugoslavia's** ambassador at the **United Nations**, and was elected chairman of the General Assembly in 1976. Apart from **Lazar Koliševski**, Mojsov was the most well-known Yugoslav dignitary from Macedonia. In 1987–1988, he headed the presidium of Yugoslavia. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA.

MOTHER TERESA (AGNES GONXHA BOJAXHIU) (1910–1997). Mother Teresa was born in **Skopje** into an Albanian Catholic family. She became a missionary in Calcutta in 1928 and was involved in various charitable activities, winning her worldwide fame. Mother Teresa was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 and also received a special UNESCO recognition in 1992. Mother Teresa was beatified in 2003 by Pope John Paul II. Her life was commemorated with a monument built in 2004 by the **Skopje** town council. *See also* ALBANIANS.

MOVEMENT FOR ALL-MACEDONIAN ACTION (MAAK; DVIŽENJE ZA SEMAKEDONSKA AKCIJA). Nationalist party formed in 1989 with the writer **Gane Todorovski** as president. In 1990, a group of activists around **Ljubčo Georgievski** separated from the movement to form the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**. Another faction led by **Strašo Angelovski** formed **MAAK-Conservative Party**, which was active in the 1990s. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

MRNJAVČEVIĆ DYNASTY. Medieval dynasty ruling over great parts of Macedonia. It was established by **Vukašin**, son of **Mrnjava**, a nobleman from Herzegovina. **Vukašin** assumed the title of king (*kralj*) in 1365 and added to his domain the territories around **Skopje**, **Prilep**, **Ohrid**, and **Prizren** in present-day **Kosovo**. In 1371 **Vukašin** and his brother **Uglaš**, the despot of Serres, were defeated at **Černomen/Ormenio** near **Adrianople** by the **Ottoman beylerbey** of Rumeli (Thrace), **Lala Şahin Paşa**. Serbian historiography refers to the event as “the battle at the Marica River.” **Vukašin’s** son, **Prince Marko**, whose domain was limited to **Prilep** and its surroundings, became an Ottoman vassal. After **Marko** was killed in 1395, the dynasty’s lands passed to the Ottomans. *See also* DUŠAN THE MIGHTY.

MUHAJIR (TURKISH, MUHACIR). Ottoman-Turkish word borrowed from Arabic. It refers to the Muslim refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Principality of **Bulgaria**, Eastern Rumelia, and **Serbia** who settled in the **Ottoman** territory after the Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878. Muhajirs’ number in the whole of geographic Macedonia was estimated at some 50,000 to 60,000 families. There was a neighborhood populated by Muhajirs in **Skopje** (*Madžir maalo*).

MÜRZSTEG REFORMS. Reform program drawn up by Austria-Hungary and Russia in October 1903. It provided for the reorganization of the **Ottoman** gendarmerie under the supervision of a foreign general. Two civil agents appointed by each of the great powers were to supervise administrative reforms, while a financial commission added in 1905 oversaw public revenues and expenditures. That was

the second such initiative by Moscow and Vienna after the so-called village-guard reforms of February 1903 intended to empower Christian peasant communities in Macedonia. The reforms stalled due to resistance from the local officials and squabbles among the powers. In June 1908, a new reform initiative was launched in Reval (Tallinn) by Russian Emperor Nicholas II and King Edward VII of Great Britain, but it was not implemented because of the **Young Turk Revolution**. *See also* HILMI PAŞA, HÜSEYİN; ILINDEN UPRISING.

MUSIC. Macedonia has musical traditions appreciated across the Balkans. The most popular genre is perhaps the local folk ballade. It is distinguished by its rich melodic structure and, much like the instrumental **folklore** music, the complex, asymmetric rhythms it employs. It is accompanied by instruments encountered in other parts of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean such as the *kaval* (flute), *gajda* (bagpipe), *zurna* or *zurla* (a double-reed woodwind instrument), *tarambuka* (goblet drum), *tapan* (large drum), *tambura* (a string-necked instrument related to the Greek *bouzouki*), and *ut* (Oriental lute). The lyrics reflect mostly themes drawn from rural life, but one should also note the so-called *starogradski pesni* (old-town songs), a genre present among the Tosk-speaking **Albanians** in the southwest. There are also cycles of songs, dating back to the 19th and the early 20th centuries, that commemorate the anti-Ottoman struggles (*see* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION). Albanians in northwestern Macedonia have their epic songs celebrating **Skenderbeg** and other heroic figures, accompanied by the *çifteli*, a two-stringed instrument reminiscent of the South Slavic *gusle*.

Musical folklore was fostered and popularized by the Tanec (Dance) Ensemble founded in 1949 in **Skopje** as well as the Pirin Folk Ensemble established in 1954 in Blagoevgrad, **Bulgaria**. Both outfits have elaborated the song and circle dance (*oro*, from Greek *choron*) traditions of the region. There are also lesser ensembles in various Macedonian towns as well as in the **diaspora**. The most eminent Yugoslav Macedonian singers include **Vaska Ilieva**, **Aleksandar Sarievski**, and **Nikola Badev**; in Bulgaria, Ljubka Rondova (b. 1936) and Kostadin Gugov (1935–2004), both with family roots in **Aegean Macedonia**. An outgrowth of this genre are the so-called

novokomponirani (newly composed) songs represented by artists such as Jonče Hristovski (1933–2000), author of the popular *Makedonsko devojče* (Macedonian Girl), and Vojo Stojanovski, whose tunes provided the backdrop of the nationalist upheavals in the late 1980s and 1990s. One should note also the music of the other ethnic communities in the country. Singer **Esma Redžepova** and the clarinetist and saxophonist Ferus Mustafov are among the world's most respected performers of **Roma** music.

As noted by Stefan Troebst, folk music was widely used in the nation-building policies in **Vardar Macedonia** during and after **World War II** as well as in the diaspora. It also inspired other genres, notably classical music, which advanced in the 1930s with the first opera performances in Skopje and the activities of the Mokranjac School of Music, which opened in 1934. A new impulse came after the war when the new republican authorities established the Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra (1944) led by Todor Skalovski (1909–2004), a composer and director considered the “founding father” of classical music in Yugoslav Macedonia, and the Association of Musicians in Macedonia (1949). In 1954, the composer Kiril Makedonski (1925–1984) presented *Goce*, the first opera in **Macedonian** (libretto by **Venko Markovski**). No other opera was composed until 1964, though Makedonski later produced further work glorifying the country's past, such as *Car Samuil* (1968; see SAMUEL, TSAR) and *Ilinden* (1973). Macedonia has produced a few classical artists to earn success abroad, like the pianist Simon Trpčeski or the tenor Blagoj Nacoski.

The decades of socialism saw the birth and growth of Western-style jazz, pop, and rock music. Starting from the 1970s, the Skopje jazz-rock band *Leb i sol* won a large following across **Yugoslavia** thanks to its tunes drawing on the Macedonian folklore tradition (see STEFANOVSKI, VLATKO). In the 1980s, the city could boast a relatively large rock scene. Some of the central figures from this period won international fame with the band *Anastasia*, which composed the soundtrack to the Oscar-nominated film *Before the Rain* (1994). Dragan Dautovski and *Synthesis* followed *Anastasia* with material combining folklore sounds and electronic textures. Macedonian pop stars such as **Toše Proeski**, Karolina Gočeva, and Elena Risteska remain popular in the neighboring countries. However, Macedonia, too, has

been exposed to the influence of music from the region, particularly Serbian and Bosnian *turbofolk* widely popular at least since the 1980s, and more recently its counterpart from Bulgaria, *popfolk/čalga*. *See also* ART; CINEMA.

MUSTAFA PAŠA (ca. 1450s–1519). Ottoman nobleman, vizier, and ruler of extensive areas in present-day Macedonia and **Albania**. Mustafa was remembered as the sponsor of a great mosque in **Skopje** named after him, which was completed in 1492. *See also* ISA BEG; ISHAK BEG; OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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NACEVA, MARA (1920–). Communist functionary. Born in **Kumanovo**, Naceva joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY)** in 1939 while living in the Serbian town of Niš. She entered the Provincial Committee for **Vardar Macedonia** at the end of 1941 and sided with the pro-CPY faction around **Lazar Koliševski**. In 1942, Naceva was apprehended and interned in **Bulgaria**. She was elected into the first Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Macedonia** in 1943 *in absentia*. After 1944 Naceva served in various party and government positions. *See also* ACEVA, VERA; ČALOVSKA, LILJANA; ŠATOROV, METODI.

NATHANIEL OF OHRID (NATANAIL OHRIDSKI OR KUČEV-IŠKI) (1820–1906). Cleric and political activist, one of the founders of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, born Nešo Stojanov Bojkičev in the village of Kučevište, north of **Skopje**. Nathaniel, who was educated in Chishinau, Odessa, and Kiev, was a prolific writer on ecclesiastical history and ethnography. In 1874, he became the first **Exarchist** metropolitan to be appointed to the See of **Ohrid**, later serving in Loveč (1879–1891) and Plovdiv (1891–1906). One of the most high-profile political leaders in Macedonia in the 1870s, Nathaniel was a leader of the **Kresna Uprising** in 1878–1879. *See also* KUSEVIČ, METODI; STAMBOLOV, STEFAN.

NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (NLA; ALBANIAN, UŠ-TRIA ÇLIRIMTARE KOMBËTARE, UÇK; MACEDONIAN, OS-

LOBODITELNA NACIONALNA ARMIJA, ONA). Albanian paramilitary force, reportedly founded in late 1999 by **Ali Ahmeti**, his maternal uncle Fazli Veliu, and former commanders of the **Kosovo** Liberation Army (KLA). The NLA and KLA share the same Albanian acronym, UÇK. The army's key demand was equal rights for Macedonian **Albanians**, but it was seen as separatist by the Slavic majority. The total force numbered up to 7,000 lightly armed fighters. In 2000, the NLA launched several attacks against Macedonian police targets. By March 2001, it controlled certain mountain areas above **Tetovo** and **Kumanovo**. There were counteroffensives by the Macedonian security forces, but in June the NLA captured the village of Aračinovo near **Skopje**. A cease-fire was agreed the same month, under international pressure. It paved the way to the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** of 13 August. NLA operatives were accused of war crimes against civilians by the Macedonian authorities, but the latter also condoned murders of Albanian civilians; for example, in the village of Ljuboten on 10–12 August 2001. The NLA was disarmed by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**. Its leadership formed in 2002 the **Democratic Union for Integration**. *See also* ARMED FORCES; BOŠKOVSKI, LJUBE.

NAUM, SAINT (ca. 830–910). Medieval scholar and educator. St. Naum was one of the disciples of **St. Cyril** and **St. Methodius** who were expelled from Great Moravia in 885 and found refuge with the Bulgarian Prince **Boris I**. After establishing the so-called Pliska/Preslav Literary School in the east of the Bulgarian domains, in 893, St. Naum was sent to present-day **Vardar Macedonia** together with **St. Clement**. He founded a monastery on the southern bank of Lake **Ohrid** in 905. St. Naum's cult was widespread in present-day Macedonia and southern **Albania**. *See also* SIMEON I THE GREAT.

NAUMOV, STEFAN "STIV" (1920–1942). Macedonian communist born in **Bitola**, prominent member of the **partisan movement**. Naumov joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** as a student in Belgrade and, in September 1940, became chairman of the local committee in Bitola. In April 1942, he organized the first partisan unit in the region, which was defeated two weeks later by the Bulgarian police, as well as the small "Dame Gruev" detachment that be-

came active in July. On 6 May, Naumov assassinated the Bulgarian police chief in Bitola. In September he was discovered by the police and committed suicide. Naumov's brother, Georgi, had been sentenced to death and executed earlier in July. *See also* ACEV, MIRČE; ČALOVSKA, LILJANA; PINDŽUR, STRAŠO.

NEDELKOVSKI, KOLE (1912–1941). Poet and communist activist born in Vojnica near **Veles**. Living in **Sofia** during the 1930s, Nedelkovski published two collections of poems written in Slavic Macedonian dialect. He was also a member of the **Macedonian Literary Circle** and friend of **Nikola Vapcarov**. Nedelkovski committed suicide in September 1941 so as not to be caught by the police. He is celebrated, together with **Venko Markovski** and **Kočo Racin**, as a founder of the contemporary Macedonian **literature**.

NEUILLY, TREATY OF. Peace treaty signed by **Bulgaria** and the Allied Powers in the Paris suburb of Neuilly-sur-Seine on 27 November 1919. The treaty cemented the territorial status quo in Macedonia established after the **Balkan Wars** with few minor changes. It transferred **Strumica** and its region as well as three other enclaves along the Bulgarian border with **Serbia** (the so-called Western Regions) to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia**). Bulgaria also ceded Western Thrace, which first came under Allied control and was later transferred to **Greece**. The agreement also imposed reparations on Bulgaria for its part in **World War I** and limited the number of its active forces to 20,000. *See also* BUCHAREST, TREATY OF.

NICHOLAS (NIKOLA). Administrator (*komes*) of the region around Sredec (**Sofia**) in the early 10th century, probably of Armenian origin. Nicholas's sons (*komitopouloi*) established a state centered in **Ohrid**, which reached the peak of its power under **Tsar Samuel**.

NIKOLOV, JORDAN (ORCE) (1916–1941). Communist functionary from **Skopje**. In 1941 he was part of **Josip Broz Tito's** **partisan** forces in the town of Užice. Dispatched to **Vardar Macedonia** to organize the local resistance, he was killed *en route* in southern **Serbia** by the Bulgarian police.

NIŠ AGREEMENT. Agreement concluded by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia**) and **Bulgaria** on 23 March 1923. It instituted bilateral measures along the common border to forestall the incursions of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** armed bands into **Vardar Macedonia**. The agreement allowed Yugoslav troops to enter Bulgaria to pursue guerrillas. Bulgaria's cooperative attitude reflected prime minister **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski**'s hope for Yugoslav support to obtain a corridor toward the Aegean coast in Thrace. The agreement deepened the rift between the Agrarian Union and the IMRO, which was one of the causes for the coup toppling Stambolijski in June 1923. *See also* ALEKSANDROV, TODOR; KARADJORDJEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). NATO has been one of the key actors involved in the promotion of stability in the Republic of Macedonia. A NATO contingent was first deployed in 1998 to prevent a spillover of hostilities from neighboring **Kosovo**. Since the NATO bombing campaign against **Yugoslavia**, Macedonia has been a key part in the logistical supply line for the NATO peacekeeping mission stationed in Kosovo. Following the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**, in September 2001 another NATO operation, Essential Harvest, was launched in the areas affected by the conflict between the government and the **National Liberation Army**. In March 2003, the **European Union** succeeded NATO as the principal peacekeeper in Macedonia.

NATO accession has been a central goal for Macedonia's **foreign policy**, despite widespread suspicions by the Macedonian majority of pro-Albanian bias in the policies of the alliance and the **United States**. The country made important strides toward NATO membership by dealing with the aftermath of the 2001 conflict, reforming its **armed forces**, and engaging in various regional cooperation initiatives. It had signed a Membership Action Plan with NATO as early as 1999 and in May 2003 launched, together with Croatia and **Albania**, the Adriatic Charter, a stepping stone to NATO membership. Skopje contributed small contingents to the U.S.-led force in Iraq and to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, a policy supported by the late president **Boris Trajkovski**. While Macedonia was considered a

front-runner in the process of NATO enlargement toward the western Balkans, it was prevented from joining the alliance by **Greece**, which imposed a veto at the Bucharest Summit in April 2008. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA (NEW MACEDONIA). Newspaper printed in **Skopje**, the first periodical to be published in the **Macedonian language**. *Nova Makedonija*'s original issue was printed in October 1944, and the paper became the official daily of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and was edited by many significant political and cultural figures, such as **Vasil Ivanovski**, **Blaže Koneski**, **Mito Hadživasilev**, and **Lazar Mojsov**. Less popular with the Macedonian readers compared to **Belgrade** publications such as *Borba*, in the 1990s, *Nova Makedonija* also lost ground to newly established newspapers like *Dnevnik* (Diary) and *Utrinski vesnik* (Morning Herald). *See also* KERIM; SRGJAN; LITERATURE.

NOVAKOVIĆ, STOJAN (1842–1915). Prominent Serbian politician, diplomat, and scholar. As ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1885–1892, Novaković sponsored activists such as Naum Evro(vić), Kosta Grupčević, and **Temko Popović** who called for the restoration of the **Ohrid Archbishopric**, a secession from the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, and school instruction in **Macedonian**. This, however, was a brief episode. By the 1900s Novaković, as well as his local collaborators, had embraced the promotion of Serbianism *tout-court*. Present-day Bulgarian propagandists allege that **Macedonism**, rather than being an ideology developed by Macedonia's Slavs themselves, is a scheme of covert Serbianization going back to Novaković. *See also* CŪRNUŠANOV; KOSTA; SERBS; ST. SAVA SOCIETY.

– O –

OHRANA. Pro-Bulgarian paramilitary organization operating in the districts of Castoria/Kostur, Florina/Lerin, and Edhessa/Voden in **Aegean Macedonia** during the Axis occupation of **Greece** in **World War II**. Founded in 1943 by Andon Kalčev (1910–1948), a Bulgarian officer born near Castoria, Ohrana (meaning “guard”) counted

up to 3,000 local militiamen in its ranks, many formerly associated with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. It was occasionally supported by the German and the Italian occupation authorities in their efforts to contain the Greek communist resistance force **ELAS**. In 1944, many Ohrana irregulars shifted to the ELAS-affiliated **Slavo-Macedonian People's Liberation Front**. *See also* GREEK CIVIL WAR.

OHRID. Historic town in the southwest of the Republic of Macedonia. Ohrid (Albanian, *Ohër*; Greek, *Ohrida* or *Ahrida*) was the center of a famous Slavic literary school in the 9th century, the capital of **Tsar Samuel's** state, as well as the seat of the **Ohrid Archbishopric**. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, local Muslim lords such as Celad-din Beg and Mahmud Paşa Buşatlı (Buşatlija) carved out semi-independent entities, free from the sultan's control, around the town. Ohrid is famous for its richly frescoed medieval churches dating back to the periods of Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian rule in the 11th through 14th centuries (*see* ART). The city was also the birthplace of 19th-century educators and political activists (*see* PŪRLIČEV, GRIGOR; ŠAPKAREV, KUZMAN). Ohrid and the area around it played an important role during the **Ilinden Uprising**. In September 1913, Ohrid became the center of another insurgency, this time against the Serbian army, launched by the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** and Albanian irregulars from **Debar**. In the latter half of the 20th century, it developed into an important destination for tourists from around **Yugoslavia** and abroad thanks to its rich historical heritage and the natural sites along the banks of the Ohrid Lake. In 1980 the town entered UNESCO's world-heritage list. *See also* STRUGA.

OHRID ARCHBISHOPRIC. Religious institution established by the **Byzantine** emperor **Basil II** in 1018 and abolished by the **Ottoman** authorities in 1767. It succeeded the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which had moved to **Ohrid** under **Tsar Samuel** at the end of the 10th century. Though Slavic liturgy survived in some local churches under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric, Greek soon became the official language, and most of the archbishops were Byzantine Greeks. The official title of the institution's head was either "Archbishop of Bul-

garia” or “Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima and all Bulgaria.” The diocese of the Ohrid Archbishopric initially covered vast territories in the western parts of the Balkans, up to the Danube River, but in the 13th and 14th centuries shrank to the south of Macedonia and **Albania**. However, in the early 15th century, its diocese expanded into western **Bulgaria**, Wallachia, and Moldova, where the clergy objected to Constantinople’s 1439 union with the Catholic Church. At the peak of its power, the Ohrid Archbishopric encompassed also the Greek Orthodox parishes in southern Italy, Dalmatia, and Venice.

The Ohrid Archbishopric saw its mission in ecumenical, rather than narrowly ethnonational, terms. In the centuries under Ottoman rule, the archbishop’s title mentioned Bulgaria, **Serbia**, Albania, and “Moldowallachia” and referred to the past status of Ohrid as a center of a patriarchate. The archbishopric was abolished most likely due to financial difficulties, but the closure was instrumentalized in the mid-19th century during the struggles against the Greek clergy. After the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1870, there were also sporadic individual calls for the restoration of the Ohrid Archbishopric as a spiritual center of the Macedonian Slavs, one example being the early ideologue of Macedonian national separatism, **Krste Misirkov**. The archbishopric was officially reconstituted as a semiautonomous entity in 1958, following the establishment of the People’s Republic of Macedonia within **Yugoslavia**. *See also* MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT. Agreement signed on 13 August 2001 by the main Macedonian and Albanian political forces, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**, the **Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia**, the **Democratic Party of Albanians**, and the **Party for Democratic Prosperity**, and mediated by the representatives of the **European Union** and the **United States**, Francois Leotard and James Pardew. It ended the 2001 conflict between the government security forces and the **National Liberation Army**.

The agreement called for far-reaching changes in Macedonia’s **constitution** and legislation to grant equal status to the Albanian community, including administrative decentralization, equitable rep-

resentation in the civil service, special majorities in parliament for passing sensitive laws, and expanding the right to use minority **languages** and symbols (in effect Albanian) as official at the local level (*see* FLAG). The constitutional changes adopted following the agreement pushed the Republic of Macedonia in the direction of a consociational democracy based on ethnic power sharing. The amendments adopted on 16 November 2001 included the introduction of the “double majority” system where sensitive legislation is passed by votes from the two main communities; insertion of references to the non-Slavic Macedonian ethnic groups in the constitution; proportional representation in the Constitutional Court; and the recognition of minority languages as official in municipalities where the respective ethnicity accounts for more than 20 percent of the population. *See also* AHMETI, ALI; CRVENKOVSKI, BRANKO; GEORGIEVSKI, LJUBČO; IMERI, IMER; TRAJKOVSKI, BORIS; XHAFERI, ARBEN.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Multiethnic and multiconfessional polity established by the Sunni Muslim, Turkish-speaking House of Osman (Ottoman) in Asia Minor at the end of the 13th century. At its peak, the Ottoman Empire incorporated extensive territories in southeast and central Europe, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and North Africa. The Ottoman dynasty rose to prominence in the first half of the 14th century when it captured from **Byzantium** strategically important areas in western Anatolia, including the town of Prusa (Bursa), which became the state’s first capital. By the 1360s, the Ottomans had established themselves in the southeastern Balkans (present-day Thrace). Their gains were consolidated in 1371 with Sultan Murad’s victory over a Christian coalition led by the brothers Vukašin and Ugleša **Mrnjavčević**, not far from **Adrianople**, the Ottomans’ new capital. Macedonia was conquered in the 1370s and 1380s, with the exception of **Salonica**, which remained Byzantine until 1430 (*see* KOSOVO). The conquest was completed with the fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453 to Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (the Conqueror).

The empire, which reached its zenith in the 16th and 17th centuries, left a lasting mark on Macedonia and the Balkans as a whole. Its imprint was visible in all areas of social and political life. Ottoman rule spread **Islam** in the region, led to the settlement of peasants and

nomad groups from Anatolia (*see* **TURKS**; **YÜRÜKS**), reshaped **agriculture** and other sectors of the **economy**, contributed to the expansion and reconstruction of urban centers (*see* **BITOLA**; **SKOPJE**; **URBANIZATION**), institutionalized religious belonging as the primary form of collective political identity (*see* **MILLET**), and introduced new models in **art** and **music**.

The decline of Ottoman power in the 18th and the early 19th centuries, accompanied by a series of war losses abroad and turmoil at home, prompted a series of military, administrative, and political reforms drawing on Western blueprints (*see* **TANZIMAT**). Modernization, however, speeded up the empire's fragmentation as it catalyzed the growth of nationalist ideas among its Christian Orthodox subjects. Many looked toward the European powers and Russia as well as the emerging states of **Greece**, **Serbia**, Romania, and, after 1878, **Bulgaria**, which all harbored irredentist designs vis-à-vis the Ottomans' Balkan possessions. In the late Ottoman era, the three Macedonian *vilâyet*s became the scene of a fierce contest among various national programs claiming the loyalty of the rural, largely yet not exclusively Slavic-speaking, Orthodox masses. The struggles escalated with the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1870 and especially in the aftermath of the abortive **Ilinden Uprising** of 1903. They were further complicated by the influx of Muslim refugees from other parts of the Balkans (*see* **MUHAJIR**) as well as by the birth of **Albanian** nationalism (*see* **PRIZREN LEAGUE**). The great powers' intervention only partly contained violence (*see* **MÜRZS-TEG REFORMS**).

The geographical region of Macedonia, which took a clearer shape only in the mid-19th century, stayed within the Ottoman Empire until the **Balkan Wars** of 1912–1913, which resulted in its division among Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and the newly established **Albania**. Similar to their colleagues elsewhere in the Balkans, (post-)Yugoslav Macedonian historiographers and popular writers have denounced the centuries of Ottoman rule as a period of alien subjugation, suppression of Slavic Macedonian ethnic identity, and economic and social decline, and have emphasized instances of popular resistance. Divisive memories of the Ottoman period have played into the ethnic tensions involving the Albanian community in the 1990s and the

early 2000s. *See also* BERLIN, TREATY OF; DIASPORA AND EMIGRATION; YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION.

OZNA (ODDELENIE ZA ZAŠTITA NA NARODOT; DEPARTMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE). Security service established by **Josip Broz Tito's** **partisans** in Bosnia in September 1943. The organization set up its branch in Macedonia in July 1944 after the arrival of Mijat Vuletić, dispatched from the partisan headquarters in the island of Vis. Among the founders were **Cvetko Uzunovski** (director), **Kiril Miljovski**, Elisie Popovski, Zlate Biljanovski, Blaga Poposka, and Kiro Georgievski-Dejan. Part of the Yugoslav Defense Ministry, the OZNA persecuted the political opponents of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia**, including Albanian nationalists, Serb royalist četniks, members of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, and other proindependence Macedonians (*see also* REVISIONIST HISTORIANS). In January 1946, it was replaced by the State Security Directorate (*Uprava za državna bezbednost*, UDB), an agency within the Ministry of Interior charged with intelligence and counterintelligence operations within **Yugoslavia** and abroad, while military counterintelligence was entrusted to KOS (*Kontraobaveštajna služba*). Both organizations were until 1966 under the control of Aleksandar Ranković, a hard-line supporter of Yugoslav centralism (*see* KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR). In the early 1990s, there were recurrent scandals regarding Macedonian public figures' past connections with the Yugoslav security services. Networks associated with UDB and KOS are believed to have benefited from violations of the embargo against rump Yugoslavia during the war in Bosnia (1992–1995).

– P –

PANČEV, DARKO (1965–). Famous football player, popular in Macedonia and across former **Yugoslavia**. Born in **Skopje**, Pančev pursued a career as a striker with the local club Vardar, Yugoslav champion in 1987, Crvena Zvezda (Red Star) **Belgrade**, and, from 1992 to 1995, Inter Milan. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, he was

one of the few well-known Macedonians on the European sports scene.

PANDEVSKI, MANOL (1925–1998). Historian born in the village of Gabrovo near **Strumica**. Pandevski was the head of the **Institute for National History** and, since 1976, a member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**. His area of specialization was the history of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. Pandevski's work includes *The Political Parties and Organizations in Macedonia 1908–1912* (1965), *Strumica and the Strumica Region through History* (1969), *The National Question in the Macedonian Liberation Movement 1893–1903* (1974), and *The Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia* (1978). *See also* BITOSKI, KRSTE; KATARDŽIEV, IVAN.

PANICA, TODOR (1879–1925). Famous **Internal Macedono(-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** commander, member of the organization's left wing, originally from Orhjahovo in northern **Bulgaria**. Active in the Macedonian movement since 1902, Panica became one of the closest associates of **Jane Sandanski** in 1904. On Sandanski's commission, he assassinated **Ivan Garvanov** and **Boris Sarafov** in **Sofia** in November 1907. Panica commanded the IMRO volunteer corps, which joined the Salonica Expedition Army in suppressing the 1909 revolt against the **Young Turk Revolution** by Sultan Abdülhamid's supporters. During the **Balkan Wars** he fought alongside the Bulgarian army in eastern Macedonia. After **World War I** Panica was among the leaders of the **federalist** faction. He was assassinated in 1925 by the IMRO in Vienna. *See also* FEDERALISTS; KANTARDŽIEV, ČUDOMIR; KŪRNIČEVA, MENČA.

PANOV, ANTON (1905–1968). Writer and playwright born in **Strumica**. Panov is considered one of the founding fathers of Macedonian drama and **literature**. His play *Pečalbari* (Migrant Workers), written in **Macedonian**, was staged in **Skopje** in 1936 as well as in **Belgrade**. It was popularized further in post-1945 Yugoslav Macedonia. Panov authored four further dramas as well as a number of poems, short stories, and newspaper articles. Panov, who sang in the Bel-

grade Opera choir during the interwar period, was also the author of the libretto of the *Legend of the Lake* ballet by the eminent Bulgarian composer Pančo Vladigerov. *See also* ILJOSKI, VASIL; KRLE, RISTO.

PARTISAN MOVEMENT. Macedonian historiography commonly refers to the partisan movement during **World War II** as the “People’s Liberation Struggle” (*Narodno-osloboditelna borba*). The term refers to the resistance against the Bulgarian, German, Italian, and Albanian nationalist forces in the **Vardar Macedonia** region between 1941 and 1944. The term is derived from the wider context of World War II **Yugoslavia**, but in Vardar Macedonia the partisan movement was much less intensive compared to parts of the future federation. For a time, the local communist leadership under **Metodi Šatorov** was reluctant to authorize a full-blown armed struggle, arguing that the cause lacked sufficient popular support.

According to the Yugoslav Macedonian historiographers, the People’s Liberation Struggle began on 11 October 1941 with an attack against the Bulgarian police station, post office, and prison in **Prilep**. It was directed by **Lazar Koliševski**, appointed by the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** to take over the Provincial Committee in the Vardar region. The ensuing backlash decimated the party, which had few supporters anyway. The six partisan detachments, numbering 10 to 15 fighters each, which were active in the mountains of central Macedonia in 1942, were also defeated by the police, the gendarmerie forces, and the counterinsurgent units comprising former members of the **Mihajlovist Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** by the winter of 1943. Many prominent communists were apprehended or killed (*see* ACEV, MIRČE; DIMOV, CVETAN; NACEVA, MARA; NAUMOV, STEFAN; NIKOLOV, JORDAN; PINDŽUR, STRAŠO).

The partisans’ fortunes started changing after the spring of 1943 due to the decreasing popularity of the Bulgarian rule, the defeat of the German armies at Stalingrad, Italy’s capitulation (September 1943), and, not the least, the February 1943 arrival of **Josip Broz Tito**’s emissary **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo**, a capable and energetic leader. To win popular sympathies, the **Communist Party of Macedonia (CPM)** and the partisan headquarters issued proclama-

tions in June and October 1943 calling for the unification of the three parts of Macedonia. In August–September 1943, the partisans carved out a “liberated zone” in several villages in the Debarca region close to **Ohrid**. It was there that the newly created CPM formed the first significant guerrilla units, such as the **Mirče Acev** Battalion (205 fighters) and later the First **Kosovo-Macedonian** Brigade, both under a headquarters directed by **Mihajlo Apostolski**. Other areas of partisan activity included the Kozjak Mountain north of **Kumanovo**, adjacent to the liberated zone in Crna Trava in southern **Serbia** as well as the mountains in Meglen, **Aegean Macedonia**. In the winter of 1944, the partisans attempted to penetrate from the south the central and eastern parts of Vardar Macedonia, but their campaign achieved little relative to the heavy losses sustained (*see* FEBRUARY MARCH).

In the summer of 1944, with the advance of the Soviet army toward the Balkans, the partisans gained the initiative. They convened the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia** on 2 August 1944 and proclaimed the establishment of a Macedonian republic within Yugoslavia. The partisan forces fought alongside the troops of the Bulgarian army, which had joined the anti-Nazi coalition in September 1944, against the retreating German forces during the autumn of 1944. In December, Yugoslav communists called a general mobilization in Macedonia, and the 15th Macedonian Corps was formed and dispatched to fight the *Wehrmacht* in Vojvodina.

Yugoslav Macedonian historiography has claimed that during the People’s Liberation Struggle 25,000 communist fighters lost their lives. The accuracy of this figure has been disputed. It also counts among the victims 7,148 **Jews** deported to the Nazi death camps as well as 2,500 casualties from the campaign against the German forces in Vojvodina after December 1944.

PARTISANS (PARTIZANI). Communist guerrilla movement fighting against the Axis occupation forces in **Yugoslavia** during **World War II**. *See also* PARTISAN MOVEMENT.

PARTY FOR DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY (PDP; PARTIA PËR PROSPERITET DEMOKRATIK). Political party representing Mac-

edonian **Albanians**. The PDP was founded in April 1990 near **Tetovo**. In the period 1992–1998, it was part of the governing coalitions led by the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**. The party gradually lost ground to the **Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)**, which split from it in 1994. The PDP was moderate in comparison to the DPA despite the fact that it refused to vote in favor of the 1991 **constitution** arguing that it downgraded the rights of the Albanians. Over the years, the PDP was led by **Nevzat Halili**, Xheladin Murati, **Abdurahman Aliti**, **Imer Imeri**, and Abdylmenaf Bexheti. In 2004, Abdulhadi Vejseli was elected as party leader. The PDP entered a coalition with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** coalition in June 2007, which ended its partnership with the **Democratic Union for Integration**. Following the early elections in June 2008, the PDP announced its merger with the DPA. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

PATČEV, METODI (1875–1907). Band commander from **Ohrid**. Patčev was a schoolteacher and later member of **Marko Lerinski's četa** before forming his own unit operating in the **Prilep** area. He was surrounded by **Ottoman** troops in 1907 and committed suicide to escape capture. *See also* RAZVIGOROV, MIŠE; UZUNOV, HRISTO.

PATRIARCHIST. *See* CONSTANTINOPLE, ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF.

PEJČINOVIĆ, KIRIL (ca. 1771–1845). Early educator from the village of Tearce, **Tetovo**. After taking his vows at the Hilendar Monastery in Month Athos, Father Kiril Pejčinović was appointed abbot of the St. Demetrius (King Marco's) Monastery south of **Skopje**. In 1818, he moved to the St. Athanasius Monastery in the village of Lešok in the Tetovo region, which he restored with a subsidy from the Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović. Pejčinović published two books containing prayers and religious instructions. His last work, a vita of the medieval Serbian tsar Lazar Hrebeljanović (*see* KOSOVO) was preserved as a manuscript. Pejčinović's books, as those of other writers from the period, were written in a mixture of Old Church Slavonic and local dialects. Pejčinović himself referred to the latter as “com-

mon Bulgarian language of Lower Moesia, of Skopje and Tetovo.” In **Bulgaria**, Pejčinović is celebrated as one of the pioneers of modern Bulgarian culture, while in Macedonia he is considered a founding father of Macedonian **literature**. *See also* KŪRČOVSKI, JOAKIM; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

PEJOV, NAUM (1919–). Communist functionary, guerrilla commander, and historian. Pejov came from the village of Gabreš (Gavros) near Castoria/Kostur in **Aegean Macedonia**. In early 1944, he headed the **Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front** within the Greek communist resistance against the Nazi occupation (*see* WORLD WAR II). After the end of the **Greek Civil War**, he settled in **Skopje** and was a member of the republican parliament. Pejov is the author of the book *The Macedonians and the Civil War in Greece* (1968). *See also* DIMOVSKI, ILIJA.

PELAGONIA. Valley in the southern part of the Republic of Macedonia and in northern **Greece**. The main urban settlements include **Bitola**, **Prilep**, and Florina/Lerin.

PENČEV, PETKO (1882–1947). **Internal Macedono(-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist born in the Bulgarian town of Varna. A journalist by profession, Penčev edited various IMRO periodicals. Initially close to **Jane Sandanski**, he later headed the rival centralist faction together with **Damjan Gruev** and **Hristo Matov**. In the 1930s, Penčev was part of the political circle *Zveno*, which staged a *coup d'état* in May 1934 and suppressed the IMRO. In the 1940s, he enlisted in the **Bulgarian Communist Party**–sponsored Fatherland Front. *See also* ŠANDANOV, PETŪR.

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE (NARODNO-OSLOBODITELNA BORBA). *See* PARTISAN MOVEMENT.

PETKOVSKI, TITO (1945–). Politician born in Kriva Palanka. A law graduate from **Skopje** University, Petkovski worked at the city committee of the **League of Communists of Macedonia** and then at the **Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia (SDAM)**. He was a

member of the republic's assembly since the early 1980s and served as its deputy speaker (1991–1994) and speaker (1996–1998).

As the SDAM candidate in the 1999 presidential elections, Petkovski ran a pronouncedly anti-Albanian campaign, which helped **Boris Trajkovski** to win in the second round. Following the defeat, Petkovski emerged as a rival of **Branko Crvenkovski** in the SDAM. His supporters split in November 2005 to establish the New Social Democratic Party (NSDP), a member of the governing coalition led by **Nikola Gruevski**, which came to power in August 2006. In 2008, Petkovski's party reoriented itself toward the social democrats and joined the *Sonce* (Sun) coalition at the early elections in June. Petkovski was elected to parliament from the third constituency covering northeastern Macedonia. Yet the poor performance in the vote led to a split within the NSDP as a faction around Lazar Elenovski, defense minister in Gruevski's government, established the Social Democratic Union. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

PETROV, GJORČE (1864–1920). Distinguished **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** figure, political activist, and publicist. Petrov was born in Varo, a neighborhood of **Prilep**. In 1885, he took part as a volunteer in the Bulgarian army in the war against **Serbia** and later taught in **Štip**, **Skopje**, and **Bitola** as well as in the **Exarchist** high schools in **Salonica** (1896–1897) and **Prilep**. In collaboration with **Goce Delčev**, Petrov drafted the IMARO's statutes of 1896, which envisioned a common anti-**Ottoman** alliance of all ethnicities in Macedonia and the **Adrianople** region. A member of the Foreign Representation of the IMARO, he was a figure of considerable authority and was named by his adversaries "the Macedonian Beelzebub," alluding to his aptitude in political maneuvering.

Together with **Jane Sandanski**, Petrov led the **federalist** wing during the schism within the IMARO in the aftermath of the **Ilinden Uprising**. Following **World War I**, he was a pillar of the leftist Macedonian **diaspora** in **Sofia** around the so-called Temporary Representation of the Former IMARO. Close to the **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski** government, Petrov was appointed a director of the agency in charge of refugee settlement in **Bulgaria**. He was assassinated in Sofia in 1921 at the orders of his enemy **Todor Aleksandrov**. The story of

the murder is the basis of **Kole Časule**'s play *Crnila* (Darkness), written in 1960 and filmed in 1965 (*Days of Temptation*, directed by Branko Gapo). *See also* FEDERALISTS; INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.

PETRUŠEV, KIRIL (1895–1980). Communist activist born in Bogdanci (Gevgelija district). After **World War I**, Petrušev was an emigrant in **Bulgaria** but escaped to **Yugoslavia** due to his participation in the communist revolt in September 1923. He worked as a typesetter in **Skopje** and was active in the trade unions. Petrušev was one of the leaders of the **partisan movement** in **Vardar Macedonia** during **World War II**. Together with **Metodija Andonov-Čento**, Petrušev was part of a delegation sent by the **Communist Party of Macedonia** to **Josip Broz Tito**'s headquarters in the Adriatic island of Vis in June 1944, which preceded the establishment of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM)**. Within ASNOM, he was commissioner for internal affairs, continuing as a minister in the first republican government of 1945. After the **Cominform** split, Petrušev was first demoted to the position of deputy minister of justice and later forced into retirement. *See also* BRAŠNAROV, PANKO; ŠATEV, PAVEL.

PHILIP II, KING (382–336 BC). One of the best-known rulers of **Macedon** (359–382 BC), the father of **Alexander the Great**. Philip was renowned for his skills as a military commander. During his reign, Macedon spread its hegemony over most of the Greek city-states and also across the Thracian- and the Illyrian-populated lands to the north. Philip established the city of Philippiopolis (the present-day Plovdiv in **Bulgaria**). He was murdered by one of his bodyguards in 336 BC. *See also* STAR OF VERGINA.

PICCOLOMINI, ENEO (?–1689). Austrian general of the “Great War” between the Habsburgs and the **Ottomans** from 1683 to 1699. In 1689, Piccolomini marched through **Kosovo** and captured and burnt **Skopje**. He was helped by a 5,000-strong Albanian corps organized by Pjetër Bogdani (Pietro Bogdano), the Catholic archbishop of Skopje. Piccolomini died from plague soon thereafter. *See also* KARPOŠ.

PINDŽUR(OV), STRAŠO (1915–1943). Communist activist. Born in the village of Vataša near Kavadarci, Pindžur grew up as an orphan. His father Dime, an **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** commander from the **Ilinden** period, was killed while fighting in the Bulgarian army during **World War I**. After several years at the local high school in Kavadarci, Pindžur was transferred to the boarding school in Kragujevac. He joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** as a law student in Belgrade and was also a member of the **Macedonian People's Movement**. Pindžur returned to **Vardar Macedonia** in 1940 and took part in the local communist movement. He was arrested by the Bulgarian police in December 1942 together with his close friend **Mirče Acev**. Pindžur was beaten to death in the **Skopje** prison in January 1943. *See also* PARTISAN MOVEMENT.

PIRIN MACEDONIA. The portion of geographic Macedonia that became part of **Bulgaria** after the **Balkan Wars**. Pirin Macedonia includes the valleys of the rivers Struma and Mesta, western slopes of the Rhodpes, Pirin, as well as parts of Maleševo, Ogražden, and Oso-govo mountains. With the 1919 **Neuilly Treaty**, the district of **Strumica** was ceded to **Yugoslavia**. In the period 1919–1934, **Pirin Macedonia** was under the *de facto* rule of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, which came to see it as the nucleus of a future independent polity. Cultural autonomy was pursued as a basis for Yugoslav-Bulgarian *rapprochement*. The region's ethnic composition underwent a shift after the settlement of a large number of refugees from Greek Macedonia in 1913 and especially in the 1920s. In 1947–1948, 100 staff ("cultural workers") from the People's Republic of Macedonia were sent to teach the **Macedonian language** and history at the local schools. A Macedonian theater opened in the region's capital, Gorna Džumaja (Blagoevgrad).

After the **Cominform** split, Yugoslav Macedonian functionaries were expelled. The **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** upheld the notion of a Macedonian minority but rejected the Skopje version of national identity for one that "would cultivate brotherhood with the Bulgarian people." The policy was reversed in March 1963 when the BCP and **Todor Živkov** declared that the region was populated by Bulgarians. From that point onward, Pirin Macedonia was at the fore-

front of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian disputes over the national belonging of the Macedonian Slavs. Both Yugoslav Macedonia and the post-1991 independent republic have seen Pirin as a region inhabited predominantly by its ethnic kin. In 1992 the first census following the end of the communist regime in Bulgaria registered people declaring Macedonian nationality as 10,803. In 2001 the corresponding number was 5,047 (3.5 percent of the total population). *See also* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION-UNION OF MACEDONIAN SOCIETIES; UNITED MACEDONIAN ORGANIZATION “ILINDEN.”

PIRINSKI, GEORGI (GEORGI “GEO” NIKOLOV ZAJKOV) (1901–1992). Communist activist born in Bansko, **Pirin Macedonia**. Pirinski emigrated to the **United States** in the early 1920s, where he joined the American Communist Party. In 1931–1933 he edited the *Trudova Makedonija* (Workers’ Macedonia) newspaper printed by the left-wing Macedonian People’s Union, which promoted the concept of the national separateness of Macedonian Slavs (*see* IVANOV-SKI, VASIL). Pirinski was extradited to **Bulgaria** in 1951. His son Georgi Pirinski is a senior Bulgarian politician and member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. *See also* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

PIRUZE(V), PETRE “MAJSKI” (1907–1980). Communist activist and politician. Piruze studied law in **Belgrade**, where he joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** and the **Macedonian People’s Movement**. He headed the party’s committee in his native town of **Ohrid**. In 1941 a Bulgarian military court sentenced him to death, but he was paroled thanks to the intervention of Ilija Kocarev, the city mayor whose legal practice employed Piruze. Piruze participated in the **partisan movement** and was responsible for the operations in western Macedonia, particularly in the Debarca region, which was the partisans’ base from 1943 onward. He was involved in the **Anti-fascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia** and occupied the post of justice commissioner. In 1950, after the **Cominform** split, Piruze was imprisoned in the infamous Goli Otok camp. Released in 1954, he was partly rehabilitated in 1966. Piruze is celebrated as a representative of the autonomy-minded faction

within the **Communist Party of Macedonia**, opposed to the centralism of **Josip Broz Tito** and **Lazar Koliševski**. *See also* ANDONOV-ČENTO, METODIJA.

POLENAKOVIĆ, HARALAMPIJE (1909–1984). Macedonian scholar and literary historian born in **Gostivar**. Polenaković was one of the founding members of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** and published a number of studies on the development of the **Macedonian language and literature** in the 19th century. *See also* KONESKI, BLAŽE; RISTOVSKI, BLAŽE.

POLITICAL PARTIES. Until the 1990s, Macedonia had very limited experience with multiparty democracy. After **World War II**, the political scene was dominated by the **League of Communists of Yugoslavia** and its local subsidiary, the **League of Communists of Macedonia (LCM)**. Political opposition groups emerged at the outset of the transition period. These created in 1990 the proindependence **IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)**, which won the highest proportion of the vote at the first open elections in November–December 1990. The LCM's former cadres regrouped into the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDAM)**, established in April 1991. The two parties alternated in government, though it was the SDAM that was considered the natural party of power. Over time, the two suffered defections, starting with Petar Gošev's departure from the SDAM in 1993. In 2004, the supporters of Ljubčo Georgievski split from IMRO-DPMNU to found the the IMRO-People's Party. Similarly, in late 2005, the New Social Democratic Party was formed by a faction within the SDAM headed by **Tito Petkovski**.

Political life in the Republic of Macedonia is to a large extent ethnicized. Both the IMRO-DPMNU and SDAM, as well as smaller bodies such as the **Liberal Democratic Party**, have obtained votes chiefly, though not extensively, from the Slavic Macedonians. The Albanian community was initially represented by the **Party of Democratic Prosperity (PDP)**, largely emanating from the communist-period elites. The PDP was the SDAM's coalition partner in 1992–1998. A group of radicals split from the PDP in 1994 demanding greater rights for the Albanians in the newly independent Macedonia.

In 1997, this faction formed the **Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)**. The DPA coalesced with the IMRO-DPMNU in two cabinets (1998–2002; 2006–2008). The most significant Albanian actor is the **Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)**, a party established by activists and guerrilla commanders belonging to the **National Liberation Army**. At three successive general elections, 2002, 2006, and 2008, the DUI succeeded in obtaining the greatest number of Albanian votes. It partnered with the SDAM in a series of administrations in the period between 2002 and 2006.

Smaller ethnic communities have been represented by their own political parties: the Democratic Party of Turks; the Democratic Party of Serbs; the Party for European Future (**Torbeši**); the United Party of Roma in Macedonia; the Democratic Union of Vlachs; the Democratic Union of the Bosniaks; and so forth. Typically those participate in elections in coalition with one of the two leading parties, the SDAM or IMRO-DPMNU. *See also* CONSTITUTION; MOVEMENT FOR ALL-MACEDONIAN ACTION. Refer to appendix A.

POLOG. Valley region in northwestern Macedonia, along the upper parts of the **Vardar** River. The main urban centers in the area are **Tetovo** and **Gostivar**.

POPARSOV, PETŪR (1868–1941). Internal Macedono-Adriano-politan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) activist from the village of Bogomila in **Azot**. As a student in **Sofia**, Poparsov was active in the **Young Macedonian Literary Company** and in 1893, working as an **Exarchist** teacher, he was among the founders of the IMARO. Poparsov was elected to the organization's Foreign Representation after the **Ilinden Uprising** but in 1920 withdrew from politics and continued his teaching career in **Bulgaria**. Poparsov was praised by Yugoslav Macedonian historiography due to his polemical writings against **Stefan Stambolov** of the early 1890s as well as his brief collaboration with **Dimitrija Čupovski** in 1912. *See also* BATAŃDŽIEV, HRISTO; DIMITROV, ANDON; GRUEV, DAMJAN; HADŽINIKOLOV, IVAN; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

POPKOCEV HRISTO (1868–1933). Internal Macedono-Adriano-politan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) leader born in

Novo Selo (**Štip**). Educated in **Sofia**, Popkocev was a schoolteacher in various towns across Macedonia and Thrace, including **Salonica**, where he joined the IMARO's Central Committee. He was active in the Macedonian **emigration** in Sofia after **World War I** and after 1928 was part of the **Protogerovist** grouping.

POPOV, STOJAN (STOLE) (1950–). One of the most notable **cinema** directors from Yugoslav Macedonia. Born in **Skopje**, Popov was educated at the Drama Studies Faculty of **Belgrade** University. He started his career in 1974 with the documentary *Ogan* (Fire), continuing with *Australia, Australia* (1976), which deals with the life of Macedonian labor migrants. Popov's greatest success was the film *Srekjna Nova '49* (Happy New Year 1949), revisiting the traumatic memories of the political purges within **Yugoslavia** following the **Cominform** schism. Other titles include *Tetoviranje* (Tattoo, 1991) and *Gipsy Magic* (1997). *See also* MANČEVSKI, MILČO.

POPOV(IĆ) TEMKO (1855–1929). Early proponent of the Macedonians Slavs' distinctiveness as a nation. Popov propagated his ideas in the 1880s, but later he sided with the Serbian cause. In 1909, he was elected to the Ottoman parliament as a representative of the **Serbs** in Macedonia. In 1913 he became the first Serbian mayor of his native **Ohrid** and served until his death in 1929. He was also a member of the Yugoslav parliament in the 1920s. *See also* KRSTIĆ, ANDJELKO; MACEDONISM; NOVAKOVIĆ, STOJAN.

POPOVSKA, LILJANA (1956–). Macedonian politician, leader of the Democratic Renewal of Macedonia (DOM) party. Popovska is the daughter of **Blaže Ristovski**, a renowned literary historian. As a member of the **Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)**, she served as deputy minister of development from 1996 to 1998. Elected to the Macedonian parliament in 2002, she was deputy speaker in the period between 2003 and 2005. Popovska split from the LDP and established the DOM, winning a parliamentary seat at the new elections in July 2006. She is also a campaigner for the inclusion of **women** in Macedonia's public life. *See also* ARIFI, TEUTA; GOŠEV, PETAR; MITREVA, ILINKA; ŠEKERINSKA, RADMILA.

POPTOMOV, VLADIMIR (1890–1952). Communist functionary from Belica (**Pirin Macedonia**). One of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** leaders in the region, Poptomov led an armed band during the abortive September Uprising of 1923. From 1925 to 1933, he was the political secretary of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)** as well as editor-in-chief of its newspaper *Makedonsko delo* (Macedonian Cause). As one of the best-known Macedonian communists and a Comintern official in Moscow, Poptomov was enlisted, *in absentia*, as one of Macedonia's delegates at the **Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia**. He returned to **Bulgaria** in 1944 to edit the BCP's organ *Rabotničesko delo* (Worker's Cause). In 1949–1950, Poptomov served as the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs. *See also* KULIŠEV, GEORGI.

POREČE (POREČ). Area in central **Vardar Macedonia** along the valley of the Treska River with the townships of Makedonski Brod and Samokov as its centers. It was known in the past for the archaic way of life and also for the pro-Serb orientation of many local villages. *See also* AZOT; KRSTIĆ, MICKO; SERBS.

PRILEP. Town in southern Macedonia. According to the 2002 census, Prilep has a population of 66,246. Together with the surrounding villages included in the municipality, the number is 73,925. Up to 93 percent are Macedonians. There is a significant Romani element too. *See also* URBANIZATION.

PRISHTINA, HASAN (1873–1933). Albanian nationalist leader from Vučitrn in **Kosovo**. Prishtina was a member of the **Ottoman** parliament from 1908 to 1912 and one of the founding fathers of independent **Albania** in 1913. He was also the country's prime minister for a brief period in 1921. The same year, he concluded an agreement with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** leaders **Aleksandër Protogerov** and Pavel Hristov for joint armed action against the Belgrade authorities in **Vardar Macedonia** and Kosovo. *See also* ALBANIANS.

PRIVATIZATION. The privatization process in Macedonia commenced at the end of 1989 with the so-called (Ante) Marković Law,

named after the then Yugoslav prime minister. A subsequent piece of legislation passed by independent Macedonia in June 1993 led to the transformation of 600 “socially owned” enterprises into limited or joint stock companies, eligible to pass into private ownership. It was followed two years later by a law governing the sale of state-owned capital. The package provided for a case-by-case, rather than a mass, privatization model. The rules privileged managers who could acquire shares by paying only 10 percent of the full price up front and making further down payments over an extended period of time. In the final analysis, the social-ownership model survived as the managers remained in control while the enterprises continued to depend on state subsidies. As a result, external investment, needed to improve market performance, was discouraged.

Proceeds from privatization, including from the sale of around 350 agricultural cooperatives, were channeled into the state-run pension funds and other social programs aimed to offset the rising levels of unemployment. Restructuring of loss-making enterprises was not implemented consistently due to high political cost and the absence of adequate bankruptcy legislation. Still, even this limited effort paid off. Thanks to the sale of the brewery and cement factory in **Skopje**, revenues from privatization reached \$127.7 million in 1998, three times higher than 1996. At that point, the private sector already generated 70 percent of the country’s gross domestic product.

Privatization was furthered by the government of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)**. In 2000, following a year of relative underperformance due to the war in **Kosovo**, it endorsed landmark sales of large enterprises such as the OKTA refinery near **Kumanovo**, the Stopanska Banka, several tobacco- and food-processing operations, and mines to investors from **Greece**, Germany, the **United States**, Austria, Slovenia, and elsewhere. Nearly every single one of those transactions, many involving offshore companies, fueled corruption scandals implicating the government, which, as of June 1999, exerted central control over the process via a specialized commission. For instance, the OKTA sale to Hellenic Petroleum led to bribery allegations against prime minister **Ljubčo Georgievski**. The IMRO-DPMNU also implemented restitution leg-

isolation compensating citizens whose assets had been expropriated by the communist authorities.

Foreign investors were seriously deterred by the conflict in 2001 between the government and the Albanian guerrillas of the **National Liberation Army**. Privatization was virtually halted after the sale of a controlling stake in Macedonian Telecom worth \$346.5 million to the Hungarian operator MATAV, part of Deutsche Telekom, which took place prior to the hostilities. It took several years to regain their confidence. In 2002, the proceeds of privatization totaled \$77.2 million, compared to \$174.5 million in 2000. Macedonia's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2003 and enhanced relations with the **European Union (EU)** played a crucial role. They helped improve the legal infrastructure to protect foreign investors and put in place a liberal regime for capital mobility allowing repatriation of profits. By the mid-2000s, the stock exchange, which had opened back in 1995, was fully operational. The country's three main banks, accounting for more than 50 percent of the sector, had been acquired by foreign investors through the privatization process.

As the portfolio of state-run enterprises was shrinking, the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia** embarked on a new wave of privatization targeting the utilities sector. In early 2006, the Austrian conglomerate EVN won a tender to buy 90 percent of the shares of *Elektrostopanstvo na Makedonija* operating the electricity grid in the country, for 225 million euro (ca. \$355 million). To implement EU law (*acquis communautaire*), the government had “unbundled” its electricity monopoly, and the company operating the power station is yet to be sold. As privatization receipts were drying up, the government of **Nikola Gruevski** launched an ambitious campaign to lure greenfield investment into Macedonia. *See also* ECONOMY.

PRIZREN LEAGUE (ALBANIAN, *LIDHJA E PRIZRENIT*). Albanian national association established in June 1878 in response to the Russian-Turkish War. Led by the political activist Abdyl Bey Frashëri, the league involved many notables and members of the Muslim clergy (the *ulema*) from present-day **Kosovo, Albania** proper, and western Macedonia. It opposed the annexation of Albanian-populated territories by Montenegro, **Serbia**, and the newly created

Bulgaria. The league was suppressed by the **Ottomans** in 1881. *See also* ALBANIANS; BERLIN, TREATY OF; KOSOVO.

PROESKI, TODOR (TOŠE) (1981–2007). Macedonian pop singer born in **Kruševo**. Starting in 1999, Proeski recorded a series of albums that won him popularity across former **Yugoslavia**. In 2004, he recorded *Magija* (Magic), a duet with the “queen of Roma music,” **Esma Redžepova**, which represented Macedonia in the Eurovision contest. His stellar career was tragically ended in a car accident in Croatia in October 2007 that killed both him and his manager. In recognition of his achievements and mass appeal, Proeski was buried in his hometown in a state-organized ceremony involving military honors. *See also* MUSIC.

PROTESTANTISM. Protestant missionaries came to Macedonia in the mid-19th century, benefiting from the *millet* status extended by the **Ottoman Empire** in 1847. In 1860, the first evangelical groups were established in **Salonica** and **Bitola**. The main center of Protestantism was, however, in Bansko (**Pirin Macedonia**), where a church community was granted an official status by the Ottoman authorities in 1868. The Methodists were the principal denomination present in **Vardar Macedonia**. These initiatives were funded by religious societies in the **United States** intent on propagating evangelical Christianity in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Today there are about 2,000 Protestants in the country. Notably, president **Boris Trajkovski** was a Methodist pastor. *See also* RELIGION.

PROTOGEROV, ALEKSANDŮR (1867–1928). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** leader born in **Ohrid**. Like other Bulgarian officers coming from Macedonia, Protogerov was a member of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. In 1902, he led a band during the short-lived uprising around Gorna Džumaja. During the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**, Protogerov was already a senior commander. He served in the Macedono-Adrianopolitan Volunteer Corps (*see* DŮRVINGOV, PETŮR) and later headed the Bulgarian occupation troops in southeast **Serbia** (Morava region) where, helped by IMRO irregulars, he brutally crushed an uprising in the Toplica dis-

trict in 1916. In September 1918, as a commander of the **Sofia** garrison, General Protogerov defeated the rebellious Bulgarian soldiers marching from the **Salonica** front toward the city.

Arrested as a war criminal in 1919 by the Agrarian Government, General Protogerov managed to escape together with **Todor Aleksandrov**. The two then restored the IMRO. After Aleksandrov's death, General Protogerov clashed with the emerging leader **Ivan Mihajlov** and was assassinated in 1928 at the latter's orders. Mihajlov accused Protogerov and his supporters of having organized Aleksandrov's assassination in collusion with **Yugoslavia** and the Soviet Union. *See also* PROTOGEROVISTS.

PROTOGEROVISTS. Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) faction comprising the supporters of General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**. Among the more significant figures were **Petŭr (Pero) Šandanov**, the group's informal leader; Peco Trajkov (1880–1964); the intellectuals **Georgi Baždarov**, **Georgi Kulišev**, **Kiril Pŭrličev**, and **Naum Tomalevski**; the former band commander Georgi Pophristov (1876–1962); and others. From 1928 to 1934, the Protogerovists were involved in an internecine war against the supporters of **Ivan Mihajlov** fought in the streets of **Sofia** and other major Bulgarian towns, which eroded the IMRO's power and political prestige. Mihajlov alleged that Šandanov and his partisans were supported by the Yugoslav secret services. Later in the decade, leading Protogerovists merged with the *Zveno* political circle and joined the communist-dominated Fatherland Front during **World War II**. Šandanov and Trajkov were also involved in the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. *See also* MIHAJLOVISTS.

PULJEVSKI, GEORGI (GJORGJI, GJORGJIJA) (1838–1895).

Activist and self-taught writer from the village of Galičnik celebrated in the Republic of Macedonia for his role in the “National Rebirth” (*Nacionalna prerodba*), alongside **Krste Misirkov** and **Dimitrija Čupovski**. Puljevski authored several books written in a mixture of Macedonian dialects, Serbian, and Old Church Slavonic, including *Dictionary of Four Languages (Serbian-Albanian, Albanian, Turkish, Greek)* (1872) and *A Dictionary of Three Languages—*

Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish (1875), published in **Belgrade**. In the latter he referred to the Macedonians as a separate Slavic nation that traced its roots to **Alexander the Great**. After the emergence of the Bulgarian Principality, Puljevski settled in **Sofia**, where he wrote and published the *Macedonian Songbook* (1879) and *Slog-nica rečovska* (roughly translatable as *Word System*) (1880), seen by **Blaže Koneski** as an early effort at standardizing Macedonian grammar. Puljevski also left a manuscript titled *General History of Macedonian Slavs*, discovered in the National Library in Sofia.

Puljevski fought against the **Ottomans** in **Serbia** in the 1860s. He also participated in the Bulgarian Volunteer Corps during the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the **Kresna Uprising** in 1878–1879. For his service, he was honored with a Bulgarian state pension that he received until his death in Sofia. *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; MACEDONISM.

PŮRLIČEV, GRIGOR STAVREV (1830/31–1893). Famous poet, educator, and translator from **Ohrid**, celebrated as a pioneer of national awakening or rebirth in both the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria. PŮrličev studied in his native town and in 1858 settled in Athens to attend the local university. He won fame in 1860 as Grigorios Stavridis Makedon, with the poem *O Amartolos* (The Guardsman), written in classical Homeric verse, which won the Greek poetic competition. The epic drew inspiration from village life in western Macedonia and the struggles between the local Slavs and the Albanian brigands. PŮrličev returned to Ohrid following the death of his teacher, **Dimitri Miladinov**, in 1862. He was active in the campaigns to open Bulgarian schools, wrote a number of poems, and contributed articles to the Bulgarian press in Istanbul. His pioneering translation of the *Iliad* in modern Bulgarian, however, was utterly rejected by the literary critics in 1871, partly because they considered that PŮrličev's command of Bulgarian was poor. PŮrličev also left an autobiography written between 1884 and 1885 in **Salonica**, which is an important historical source about life in 19th-century Macedonia, as well as an unfinished poem dedicated to the Albanian medieval hero **Skenderbeg**. *See also* LITERATURE; PŮRLIČEV, KIRIL.

PŮRLIČEV, KIRIL (1875–1944). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** activist, son of Grigor

Pūrličev. Born in **Ohrid**, Pūrličev studied philology in **Sofia** and took part in the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee** in the mid-1890s. He was also a member of the IMARO's Foreign Representation and fought in **Hristo Černopeev's** band during the **Ilinden Uprising**. Like his father, Pūrličev taught in various **Exarchist** schools across Macedonia. He translated many Western authors into Bulgarian and in the 1920s was among the founders of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in Sofia. Pūrličev was a supporter of **Aleksandūr Protogerov** but retired from political activity in 1931 following a threat to his life by **Ivan Mihajlov**. Pūrličev returned to his native Ohrid in 1941 with the Bulgarian troops. He was the director of the town museum until his death in February 1944.

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RACIN, KOČO (KOSTA APOSTOLOV SOLEV) (1908–1943).

Poet and communist activist from **Veles**, celebrated together with **Venko Markovski** as one of the founders of contemporary Macedonian poetry. Racin joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1924 and was a member of the Provincial Committee in **Vardar Macedonia** in the early 1930s. At that time, he published his first poems and essays in Serbo-Croat. Racin was arrested by the Yugoslav police in 1934 and imprisoned for four years. Upon his release, he settled in Zagreb, where he published in 1939 *Beli mugri* (White Dawn), a collection of poems in **Macedonian**, which was received enthusiastically by the leftist intelligentsia. After a brief period in **Sofia** during 1941, Racin returned to **Skopje** and in the spring of 1943 was already with the **partisans** in the Italian occupation zone. He was mistakenly shot dead by a partisan sentinel near the village of Lopusnik in the **Kičevo** region. There have been allegations, still not proven, that Racin was murdered at the orders of the communist leader **Strahil Gigov**. *See also* LITERATURE; MACEDONIAN LITERARY CIRCLE.

RADEV, SIMEON (1879–1967). Prominent intellectual, diplomat, historian, and memoirist. Born in Resen, Radev was educated at the French Lyceum in the Istanbul quarter of Galata (the present-day Ga-

latasaray University), Geneva, and Paris, where he published periodicals affiliated with the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. He pursued a journalist career in **Sofia** and after 1913 was **Bulgaria's** ambassador in a number of western European capitals, in Washington, and at the League of Nations. Radev was among the signatories of the **Bucharest Treaty** of August 1913, which ended the Second **Balkan War**, as well as a member of the Bulgarian delegation concluding the armistice with the Allied Forces in **Salonica** in September 1918. He left behind a number of publications and memoirs dealing with contemporary Bulgarian history and his early life in **Ottoman Macedonia**. *See also* LJAPČEV, ANDREJ.

RADOSLAVLJEVIĆ, RADIVOJE “BOBY” (1915–1984). Yugoslav communist functionary born in Kragujevac (central **Serbia**). Radoslavljević was a member of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** since 1933 and during **World War II** emerged as a **partisan** commander in **Serbia**. He was sent as an instructor to **Vardar Macedonia** in July 1942 to build up the communist resistance forces there but had little success. Radoslavljević was replaced in February 1943 by **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo**.

RAINBOW PARTY (GREEK, OURANIO TOXO; MACEDONIAN, VINOŽITO). Political party representing the Slavo-Macedonian minority in northern **Greece**. The Rainbow Party was established in September 1995 in Florina/Lerin. It is a member of the European Free Alliance-European Political Party. The party is led by a political secretariat whose best-known member is Pavlos (Pavle) Voskopoulos, an architect and minority-rights activist from Florina. *See also* ABECEDAR; AEGEAN MACEDONIA; UNITED MACEDONIAN ORGANIZATION “ILINDEN.”

RAZVIGOROV, MIŠE (1873–1907). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** activist from Novo Selo, **Štip**, leader of the **Skopje** revolutionary district. Razvigorov studied at the Pedagogical School in Kazanlık (**Bulgaria**) and in 1895 returned as a teacher to his native town. Razvigorov was a colleague and associate of **Goce Delčev** and **Damjan Gruev**. He was exiled together with

Gruev in Bodrum Kale in Asia Minor. Razvigorov also influenced **Todor Aleksandrov**, a fellow townsman. Razvigorov committed suicide in 1907 after being surrounded by the **Ottoman** police in a house in Štip. *See also* PATČEV, METODI; UZUNOV, HRISTO.

REDŽEPOVA, ESMA (1943–). World-famous Macedonian **Roma** singer. Born in central **Skopje**, Redžepova grew up in Šuto Orizari, a Romani-majority suburb, where her family moved soon after her birth. Known as “the queen of Gypsy music,” she started her music career in the late 1950s. Redžepova toured in former **Yugoslavia** and abroad together with the Teodosievski Ensemble. She achieved great recognition for her interpretations of classical tunes such as *Djelem, djelem*, the international Romani anthem originally composed in 1969 by Žarko Jovanović, and *Chaje Shukarije*. In 2004, she recorded *Magija* (Magic), a duet with pop singer **Toše Proeski**, which was the Macedonian entry in the Eurovision contest. *See also* MUSIC.

REKA. Region in western Macedonia located in the quadrangle between the town of **Debar** and the Mavrovo Mountain, the border with **Albania**, and **Kičevo**. Reka, meaning “river,” encompasses the basin of the Radika River. The region has a mixed population comprising Orthodox and Muslim Macedonian Slavs (*see* TORBEŠI). Both communities are part of the **Mijaci** ethnographic group. Several villages in the Upper Reka subregion were, in the past, populated by Orthodox Albanian speakers who have been largely assimilated by the Slavic **Macedonians**. Reka has traditionally been a source of labor migrants (masons, wood-carvers, bakers) to other parts of Macedonia (**Salonica, Skopje**), the neighboring Balkan countries, and as far afield as Egypt. Many of the Muslim Rekans migrated to Turkey in the 1950s, while others sought employment in western Europe. After a peak in the mid-20th century, the region’s population is now about 10,000. Each year on St. Peter and St. Paul’s Day (12 July), the picturesque village of Galicnik, located in Reka, becomes the site of the so-called Galicnik Wedding, a traditional folk custom that attracts many visitors and tourists. *See also* ART; EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA; PULJEVSKI, GEORGI; ZOGRAFSKI, PARTENIJ.

RELIGION. Macedonia is a country of many religious faiths. Most **Macedonian**-speaking Slavs belong to the **Macedonian Orthodox Church**, while smaller groups confess **Islam** (the so-called **Torbeši**), evangelical Christianity (*see* **PROTESTANTISM**), and Catholicism. Catholics belong to both the Roman and the Greek rite. Greek Catholics, around 11,000 in total, are concentrated in eastern Macedonia, around the town of **Strumica**. They trace their origin to Uniate, or Eastern Catholic, communities that emerged in the town of Kukuš/Kilkis and **Bitola** at the time of the ecclesiastical quarrels of the 1850s and the 1860s opposing the local Slavs to the **Constantinople Patriarchate**. Sunni Islam is the religion of all **Turks** and a great majority of the **Albanians** and the **Roma**. The other significant minority communities, the **Serbs** and the **Vlachs**, are Orthodox Christians.

Under the **Ottoman Empire**, religious affiliation was the most important badge of identity, trumping ethnic divides (*see* **MILLET**). For the modern Slavic Macedonian nation, however, the acquisition of an independent church meant drawing a line of distinction with both Serbs and Bulgarians. This is why the local Orthodox Church was supported by the communist authorities in **Skopje** throughout the post-**World War II** decades.

Adherence to the Orthodox beliefs and customs has also been a way to distinguish oneself from the Islamic “other,” mostly the Albanian community. This is in stark contrast with various practices of religious syncretism and mutual influence that grew organically during the centuries under Ottoman rule and could still be observed in the beliefs and rituals of groups like the Bektashi order. Ethnopolitics, therefore, has given a new lease of life to religiosity in spite of the experience of socialist modernization. A similar process has occurred in the Albanian community. Islam has come to be associated more closely with “Albanianness,” although the standard political discourse continues to portray ethnolinguistic and historical unity of the Albanian nation overcoming the differences in religious orientation.

REVISIONIST HISTORIANS. Group of Macedonian historians whose work has stirred controversy in the 1990s and 2000s. Famous representatives include Zoran Todorovski, the head of the State Archive in **Skopje**, Stojan Kiselinovski, Violeta Ačkoska, and Stojan

Risteski. Ideologically close to the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity**, they have questioned the historical narrative established in Yugoslav times. Todorovski's work seeks to rehabilitate the leaders of the interwar **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**, **Todor Aleksandrov**, and, to a lesser degree, **Ivan Mihajlov**, conventionally rejected by the mainstream historiography as Bulgarian agents. Todorovski has stressed the IMRO right wing's objective of creating an independent political entity out of geographic Macedonia as a precursor of the modern sovereign state. In 2007, he also published the diaries of **Krste Misirkov**, exposing the pro-Bulgarian sentiments of the latter. Stojan Kiselinovski, member of the **Institute for National History**, and Stojan Risteski have revisited the process of standardization of Macedonian in 1944–1945, raising questions about the role played by **Blaže Koneski** for bringing the **Macedonian language's** orthography close to the one in Serbo-Croat. Ačkoska and Risteski have studied thoroughly the repressions against the opponents of the communist regime in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Rather than “re-Bulgarianizing” Macedonia's past, the revisionists' goal is to forge a new national history that is divorced from both the Yugoslav period and the communist movement. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

RISTOVSKI, BLAŽE (1931–). Eminent Macedonian literary historian, philologist, and public intellectual. Born in Garnikovo (Kavadarci), Ristovski is a member of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** and was formerly the head of the **Folklore Institute in Skopje**. He has written extensively on the Macedonian educators and cultural activists of the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the **Miladinov** brothers, **Georgi Puljevski**, **Krste Misirkov**, and others. Ristovski is also the author of *History of the Macedonian Nation*. Unlike the researchers at the **Institute for National History**, Ristovski's work highlights the historical growth of **Macedonian language** and culture and downplays the political activism of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. *See also* KONESKI, BLAŽE; POPOVSKA, LILJANA.

RIZOV, DIMITŪR (1862–1918). Diplomat, journalist, and political activist. Coming from **Bitola**, Rizov was one of the leaders of the

Macedonian **diaspora** in **Sofia** during the 1880s. He was one of the conspirators in the coup that led to the 1885 unification between the Principality of **Bulgaria** and Eastern Rumelia. Later he worked as a school inspector in Macedonia and a commercial affairs agent of the Bulgarian government in **Skopje**. Rizov was a minister in several governments and died as Bulgaria's ambassador in Berlin. *See also* KITAŇČEV, TRAJKO; STAMBOLOV, STEFAN.

ROMA. According to the 2002 census, Roma account for 53,879 (2.66 percent) of Macedonia's population. The census also registers 3,713 Egyptians, a group related to Roma that inhabits the regions of **Ohrid**, **Struga**, and **Kičevo**. Unofficial estimates, including by the London-based Minority Rights Group, indicate that the real number of Roma could be well beyond 200,000, making them the third largest group in the country after the Macedonians and the **Albanians**. Due to the social stigmatization attached to Romani identity, many Roma declare Macedonian, Albanian, or Turkish ethnicity. This discrepancy between official and unofficial data on Roma is a common trend present across eastern Europe.

Roma live across the country, though half of them are concentrated in the Šuto Orizari (Šutka) municipality north of central **Skopje**. Roma who came to Europe from western India through Persia settled in Macedonia at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, and they are mentioned in sources regarding the medieval Serbian Kingdom. As elsewhere in Europe, they earned a living as itinerant craftsmen (especially blacksmiths), musicians, and actors. During the **Ottoman** rule, most Macedonian Roma converted to **Islam**, though some, such as the later settlers from present-day Romania, remained committed to Orthodox Christianity. In interwar **Yugoslavia** Roma were neglected by the authorities as a marginal group. Roma were, by and large, spared from extradition to the Nazi death camps during **World War II**, mainly due to their treatment as part of the larger Islamic community. During the communist period, Roma were recognized as an ethnic group in Yugoslav Macedonia in 1974 and at the federal level in 1981. Still they remained internally divided along religious, linguistic (various Romani dialects, Albanian, even Romanian), and clan lines into many communities. Yugoslavia was also more liberal

compared to other socialist countries and did not practice forced settlement.

Roma suffered from the devastating earthquake in 1963 that struck the Skopje neighborhood of Topaana (*Tophane*). Many families were resettled in Šuto Orizari, which became the center of Romani politics and social life. With one of the biggest communities in Yugoslavia, Macedonia was also the birthplace of high-profile Roma such as the singer **Esma Redžepova**.

After the 1991 independence, Roma were recognized as a national minority on an equal footing with established communities such as the Albanians and the **Turks**. Their number grew after the arrival of Roma from **Kosovo** after the war in 1999. Still, as elsewhere in Europe, they suffer from unemployment, marginalization, and racial exclusion. Several **political parties** have attempted to campaign for Roma votes, including the Party for Complete Emancipation of the Roma in the Republic of Macedonia, represented in parliament by Faik Abdi from 1991 to 1994, the Union of Roma in Macedonia with the businessman Amdi Bajram at its helm, and the United Party of Roma led by Erdoan Iseni. There are also many established and politically active Roma nongovernmental organizations supported by Western funding, such as the *Sonce* (Sun) association in **Tetovo** and the DROM Center (**Kumanovo**). *See also* KEPESKI, KRUME; LANGUAGE.

RUSI, LJUTVI (1923–1987). Macedonian Albanian communist born in **Debar**. Rusi was active in the **partisan movement** during **World War II**, working closely with **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo**. After 1945, he became a prominent writer and journalist, and also coauthored a Macedonian-Albanian dictionary published in **Skopje** in 1967. His son, Iso Rusi, is also a journalist, editor of the Albanian-language weekly *Lobi* (2001–2006), and a high-profile public intellectual. *See also* AGOLI, NEXHAT; LLESHI, HAXHI; MEHMETI, KIM.

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SALONICA (GREEK, *THESSALONIKI*; SOUTH SLAVIC, *SOLUN*; TURKISH AND LADINO, *SELÂNİK*). The most sig-

nificant urban settlement in geographic Macedonia, nowadays the administrative, economic, and cultural center of northern **Greece**. Salonica was founded in 315 BC by King Cassander of **Macedon**, and was named after **Alexander the Great**'s sister. It grew in significance during the Roman era to become the second most important city in **Byzantium**. Salonica was the birthplace of St. Demetrius, a martyr embraced as the city's patron, and the brothers **St. Cyril and St. Methodius**.

Salonica was conquered by the **Ottomans** in 1430 and its demographics changed over the following 100 years with the influx of Muslims and **Jews**. By the mid-16th century, the Jews represented more than half of the city's population of 30,000. Salonica was praised as the "Mother of Israel." In the late Ottoman period, Salonica was the center of *vilâyet*, comprising territories in present-day Republic of Macedonia (**Strumica**, **Tikveš**, and others) and the whole of **Pirin Macedonia**. As the *fin de siècle* drew near, the city turned into a hotbed of Balkan nationalisms. In October 1893, the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** was founded by activists from the local Bulgarian community, some of them employed at the **Exarchist** high school. After the **Ilinden Uprising**, the Greek consulate headed by Lambros Koromilas was the coordination point for the Greek armed bands roaming through southern Macedonia. The building now houses the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle (*see* MELAS, PAVLOS).

Salonica was captured by the Greek army in early November 1912 and was fully incorporated into the territory of Greece after the Second **Balkan War**. During **World War I**, it was the capital of the pro-Entente government of Eleftherios Venizelos and hosted the headquarters of the Allied armies fighting the Bulgarian and German troops at the Macedonian front. In the interwar period, the city grew rapidly thanks to the advent of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor, the Black Sea region (Pontus), and Eastern Thrace, most of them exchanged under the Lausanne Convention signed in 1923 with Kemalist Turkey. The city gradually lost its diversity, and during **World War II** nearly all of its Jews were killed in the Nazi death camps.

Extreme nationalists in the Republic of Macedonia have at times laid claims to Salonica as the rightful capital of "ethnic Macedonia." This spurred a vehement reaction in the city during the early 1990s,

turning it into a center of the Greek campaign against the “Republic of Skopje.” On 14 February 1992, nearly one million rallied in Salonica’s boulevards and squares in a rare display of populist mobilization. After the lifting of the Greek embargo in 1995, Salonica resumed its place as one of Republic of Macedonia’s key commercial outlets. Trade, transport, and investment links along the **Vardar** corridor have been developing at a steady pace, with Greece turning into a principal economic partner for the Republic of Macedonia. *See also* ECONOMY; INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES (SALONICA); PRIVATIZATION; URBANIZATION.

SAMUEL, TSAR (MID-10TH CENTURY–1014). Medieval monarch whose realm was based in present-day **Vardar** and **Aegean Macedonia** and comprised vast territories in the western parts of the Balkans, including the Serbian kingdoms of Zeta and Duklja (Dioclea) as well as areas to the north of the Balkan range. Samuel inherited his domain from his father, Komes **Nicholas** (Nikola). Together with his brothers, Aaron, Moses, and David, he fought long wars against the **Byzantium** ruled by **Basil II** since the mid-970s. In 997, Samuel was crowned as tsar of **Bulgaria** and gained full control over the realm after eliminating Aaron.

After vanquishing Byzantium on several occasions, Samuel’s power was challenged by a series of Byzantine campaigns. His troops suffered a devastating defeat by the imperial army in 1014 in the Belasica Mountain. According to the chronicles, Samuel died from a heart attack at the sight of his soldiers blinded by Emperor Basil II, remembered as “the Bulgarslayer.” The dwindling tsardom was inherited by his son, Gabriel (Gavril) Radomir, who was soon murdered by Aaron’s son, John (Ivan) Vladislav. The Byzantine conquest ended successfully in 1018. In 1040, Peter Delian, Samuel’s alleged grandson, staged an unsuccessful uprising against Constantinople.

Like many other grand figures linked with Macedonia, Samuel has been the subject of historical controversy. Historians in Yugoslav Macedonia and some of their colleagues in **Serbia** have claimed it was the first independent polity of the Macedonian Slavs that used the Bulgarian state tradition, including the Patriarchal See, which moved to Samuel’s capital **Ohrid** to ensure legitimacy. Bulgarian scholars have treated Samuel’s rule as a continuation of the so-called

First Bulgarian Tsardom, whose eastern part fell to Byzantium in 871. They have also referred to evidence such as John Vladislav's inscription found in **Bitola**, where the tsar is described as "Bulgarian by birth."

ŠANDANOV, PETŮR (PERO) (1894–1971). **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** operative, military officer, and political activist. Born in **Ohrid**, Šandanov fought under **PetŮr Čaulev**'s band against the Serb army in the **Ohrid-Debar** insurrection of 1913. During **World War I**, he was an officer in the Bulgarian army and in 1921 joined the resuscitated IMRO. An experienced executioner, Šandanov was among the organizers of the bloody reprisals carried out in September 1924 decimating the leftists in the Macedonian movement to avenge **Todor Aleksandrov**'s murder. Šandanov sided with **Aleksandur Protogerov** in the internal struggle against **Ivan Mihajlov** and emerged as the uncrowned leader of the general's party after his murder (*see* PROTOGEROVISTS). In the 1930s, Šandanov and his associates like Peco Trajkov and Lev Glavinčev joined the political circle *Zveno* (Link) and in 1942 entered the communist-dominated Fatherland Front. The communist connection helped Šandanov's career. In 1944 he was invited into the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** and later elected to the presidium of the assembly of the People's Republic of Macedonia. Šandanov was also appointed by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** to the Central Committee of the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities in **Sofia**. In 2002, his memoirs were published in **Skopje**. *See also* BADEV, JORDAN; KULIŠEV, GEORGI; TOMALEVSKI, NAUM.

SANDANSKI, JANE (1872–1915). Revolutionary leader celebrated in the Republic of Macedonia and **Bulgaria** as a national hero. Born in the village of Vlahi (**Pirin Macedonia**), Sandanski grew up in Dupnica in the Bulgarian Principality, where his family moved following the **Kresna Uprising**. He joined the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC) četas** in 1895 during the violent incursion into the Muslim-inhabited regions of the central Rhodope Massif. In the next four years, Sandanski was a SMAC operative in the Struma valley but then returned to become a director of the local prison. In 1901, Sandanski switched to the **Internal**

Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) and built up the organization's network of committees in the districts of Serres and Gorna Džumaja (present-day Blagoevgrad).

Sandanski rose to prominence in August 1901 when he kidnapped, together with **Hristo Černošev**, the American **Protestant** missionary Ellen "Miss" Stone near the town of Mehomija (nowadays Razlog). The months-long ransom saga covered by the Western press transformed him into a notable Macedonian chieftain. Sandanski and Černošev carved out a domain of their own resisting the SMAC's incursions from across the Bulgarian border. Although he had direct access to Prince (after 1908 King) Ferdinand, Sandanski himself supported the IMARO's independence from the Bulgarian government. He also opposed, together with **Goce Delčev** and Černošev, the January 1903 decision for a mass insurrection in Macedonia and Thrace. However, during the **Ilinden Uprising**, Sandanski's units fought the **Ottoman** troops and the Muslim irregulars.

After 1903, Sandanski emerged, together with **Gjorče Petrov**, as the leader of the the IMARO left wing. He embraced ideologues like **Dimo Hadžidimov** associated with the Bulgarian Socialist Workers' Party who advocated the decentralization of the struggle for autonomy (*see* **FEDERALISTS**). Sandanski's temper won him many enemies within the "centralist" faction, and the confrontation soon took its toll. After ordering the murders of Mihail Daev and of **Ivan Garvanov** and **Boris Sarafov** in 1907, Sandanski was officially sentenced to death by his rivals within the IMARO leadership.

Sandanski, as well as the People's Federative Party he established, supported heartily the **Young Turk Revolution**. The "Sandanists" played a key role in suppressing an attempt at restoration of the *ancien régime* in 1909 staged by Sultan Abdülhamid II's supporters. During the **Balkan Wars**, however, the leader was at the service of the Bulgarian army. His forces were instrumental in seizing control of Bansko, Gorna Džumaja (Blagoevgrad), Nevrokop (Goce Delčev), Melnik, and Kavala, and also entered **Salonica**. Operating from his stronghold in the Rožen Monastery, Sandanski became the *de facto* ruler of large swathes of Pirin Macedonia. In the 1913 general elections, a number of his loyalists were elected to the Bulgarian parliament from the newly annexed province. After the wars, however, the old feuds resurfaced and Sandanski was assassinated in April 1915 in

Pirin on his way to Nevrokop, at the orders of the IMARO's Central Committee dominated by the "centralist" **Todor Aleksandrov** (see FILIPOV, STOJAN).

The leader was turned into a veritable icon by the interwar left in the Macedonian movement. In 1949 the town of Sveti Vrač in Pirin Macedonia was renamed Sandanski by the Bulgarian communist authorities. Sandanski is embraced as a patron figure by the **United Macedonian Organization "Ilinden."** See also KANTARDŽIEV, ČUDOMIR; PANICA, TODOR.

ŠAPKAREV, KUZMAN (1834–1909). Prominent educator and ethnographer. Born in **Ohrid**, Šapkarev studied under his uncle, Janaki Strezov, and from 1854 on, taught in various Macedonian cities. He authored textbooks on basic grammar, geography, and Bible studies, and contributed articles to the Bulgarian press in Istanbul. Šapkarev's Bulgarian primer was based on the dialect spoken in Ohrid, and he was in favor of a codification of the Bulgarian literary language on the basis of the Macedonian vernacular. This is why contemporary **Skopje** academics praise the writer as an early proponent of Macedonian nationalism (see MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE).

Šapkarev was the first director of the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica** in 1882. He soon settled in Sofia, where his *Bŭlgarski narodni umotvorenia* (Bulgarian Popular Folklore) was published, containing ethnographic material (songs, fairy tales, rhymes, customs, and so on). In recognition, Šapkarev was elected a member of the Bulgarian Literary Society (the future Academy of Sciences) in 1900. His son, Kliment, a biology teacher, became an **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** leader in the **Adrianople** district. The grandson, Petur Šapkarev, a well-known Bulgarian economist, was the first president of the **Sofia-based Macedonian Scientific Institute** after its reestablishment in 1990. See also CEPENKOV, MARKO; FOLKLORE.

SARAFOV, BORIS (1872–1907). Though long denigrated by both the official historiographies in Yugoslav Macedonia and communist **Bulgaria**, Sarafov was undoubtedly one of the leading **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** figures in the 1900s and was recognized as the organiza-

tion's spokesperson. Born in 1872 in the village of Libjahovo near Nevrokop, the present-day Goce Delčev in **Pirin Macedonia**, Sarafov attended the Bulgarian High School in **Salonica** and later graduated from the Military School in **Sofia**. He was a founder of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)** and in the summer of 1895 commanded its first military operation in Ottoman-held Macedonia, leading to the capture of Melnik, which made the headlines in the Western press and promoted Sarafov into a celebrity. In 1899 he headed the SMAC, which then cooperated with the IMARO. Sarafov organized a network for smuggling firearms from Bulgaria into Macedonia and the **Adrianople** district and busily raised funds for both the *supremists* and *internals*. He also financed the anarchists who carried out dynamite attacks against the Ottoman Bank and other public places in **Salonica** in April 1903 (*see* GEMIDŽII).

As General **Ivan Cončev**'s wing imposed control over the SMAC in 1902, Sarafov joined the IMARO led by his former fellow student from Salonica and Sofia, **Goce Delčev**. Sarafov was one of the masterminds of the **Ilinden Uprising** of 1903. He personally issued the circular letter that set 20 July (2 August) as a start date and directed, together with **Damjan Gruev**, the rebels' headquarters in Smilevo near **Bitola**. In September 1903 he coordinated the demobilization of the bands and their withdrawal into Bulgaria.

In the following years, Sarafov, a figure of considerable personal charisma, visited a number of European capitals, including London, Vienna, and Berlin, lobbying leading politicians and public figures to support the autonomist cause in Macedonia and Thrace. In November 1903, during a stay in **Belgrade**, he obtained a substantial grant of money from the government in exchange for allowing Serbian bands into Macedonia, a decision that exposed him to criticism within the IMARO (*see* SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION). Sarafov clashed directly with **Jane Sandanski** and **Gjorče Petrov** in a battle of egos. He and his supporters were heavily criticized at the organization's congress at the Rila Monastery in October 1905, which was dominated by the left. Sarafov was assassinated at Sandanski's orders in December 1907 in Sofia. *See also* MATOV, HRISTO; TATARČEV, HRISTO.

SARIEVSKI, ALEKSANDAR (1922–2002). Singer, famous performer of folk ballads. Born in Galičnik, in the **Reka** region. Sarievski

made his first recordings in 1946 at Radio **Skopje**. His voice was popular not only across Yugoslav Macedonia but also in **Bulgaria** and elsewhere. Sarievski is remembered for his rendition of landmark tunes such as *Uči me majko, karaj me* (Teach Me Mother, Scold Me) and *Zajdi, zajdi, jasno sonce* (O Set, O Set, Clear Sun). He was also a founding member of the Tanec (Dance) ensemble. *See also* BADEV, NIKOLA; FOLKLORE; ILIEVA, VASKA; MUSIC.

ŠATEV, PAVEL POCEV (1882–1951). Political activist, revolutionary, and writer born in Kratovo. As a student at the **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica**, Šatev participated in the anarchist group responsible for the dynamite attacks in the city in the spring of 1903 (*see* GEMIDŽII). He was exiled for life in the Libyan town of Fezzan but was amnestied after the **Young Turk Revolution**. Šatev's memoirs about this period were published in 1927 by the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in **Sofia**. After studies in law in Sofia and Brussels, Šatev was among the founders of the Macedonian Emigrant Federative Organization in 1921 (*see* FEDERALISTS). There is evidence that he was involved with the Soviet intelligence service from the early 1920s onward. A prominent leftist, Šatev was one of the intermediaries during the negotiations over the **May Manifesto** between the Comintern and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. Escaping the repressions against his comrades in the wake of **Todor Aleksandrov's** murder, Šatev settled in Istanbul and then in Vienna, where he took part in the establishment of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United)**. Historians in the Republic of Macedonia have identified him as the leader of the nationalist wing in the organization, opposed to full control by the Comintern and the Bulgarian communists. Yet Šatev returned to **Bulgaria** in 1931 as a Soviet agent while also running a legal practice. He was arrested in the autumn of 1941 and sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Released after the communist takeover in September 1944, Šatev returned to **Vardar Macedonia** and joined the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia's** presidium, becoming a commissioner (*poverenik*) of justice. After the **Cominform** split, however, the Titoist faction in the **Communist Party of Macedonia** had him removed from office on account of his close personal links

with Moscow. Šatev was arrested in 1949 and after 11 months in the **Skopje** prison he was put under house arrest in **Bitola**, where he died in 1951. *See also* ANDONOV-ČENTO, METODIJA; BRAŠNAROV, PANKO; KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR.

ŠATOROV, METODI "ŠARLO" (1898–1944). Eminent communist functionary. Originally from **Prilep**, Šatorov settled in **Sofia** in 1918 and joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** two years later. He participated in the communist uprising in September 1923, became one of the leaders of the BCP's organization in Sofia, and in 1928 was promoted to the party's Central Committee. Šatorov was also a founding member of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United) (IMRO-U)**. Imprisoned in 1928–1929 by the Bulgarian government, he emigrated to the Soviet Union, where he became a Comintern official. Šatorov returned to **Bulgaria** in 1934 but was sentenced again at the 1935 trial against the IMRO-U leadership. Following his release, Šatorov moved back to the Soviet Union and then in 1937 to Paris, where he was involved in sending communist volunteers to the Spanish Civil War.

Šatorov returned to **Vardar Macedonia** in 1939 and became head of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY)** Provincial Committee. After the Bulgarian troops entered the region in April 1941, he lobbied for the affiliation of the local party structures with the BCP rather than with the Yugoslav communists. He also clashed with the CPY on the issue of the Serb colonists expelled by the Bulgarian authorities from the Vardar region. As early as September 1940, Šatorov expressed the view that their presence was contrary to local interests and called for land redistribution. At the CPY Fifth Conference (October 1940), he criticized the party report on the national question prepared by Moša Pijade for ignoring this critical issue. In 1941, the CPY leadership opposed the expulsions, causing Šatorov's resentment. Another point of tension was Šatorov's reluctance to push for an all-out guerrilla struggle against the Bulgarian authorities. He believed that the insistence on preserving the territorial integrity of **Yugoslavia** would not win much popular support given the painful memories left by the *ancien regime*.

Aggravated by Šatorov's behavior, **Josip Broz Tito** dispatched younger communists such as **Lazar Koliševski** to rein in the Provin-

cial Committee. The CPY leadership also sentenced to death the renegade functionary. Yet this did not undercut his power within the local party structures, as only Koliševski and **Vera Aceva** opposed his views. After the Comintern ruled in favor of the Yugoslav stance in September 1941, Šatorov, whom Koliševski and his supporters casually called “the old Bulgarian,” was removed from his leadership position and sent back to Sofia in October 1941. There he resumed his position as member of the BCP Central Committee and head of the party’s district committee in Sofia. Šatorov was killed in a skirmish with the army in the Rhodope Mountain on 4 September 1944, days before the communist takeover in Bulgaria. There have been allegations that he was murdered by fellow partisans.

Dismissed by the Yugoslav historiography for being a defeatist and Bulgarophile, Šatorov is celebrated as a Bulgarian patriot by scholars and propagandists in Sofia. In November 2005, an academic conference was convened at the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** that made an effort at rehabilitating Šatorov on account of his support for the cause of united Macedonia and the introduction of the **Macedonian language** in the communist organizations across the Vardar region. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA; IVANOVSKI, PETAR; NACEVA, MARA.

SEJFULLA, QEMAL (1921–1978). Leading Albanian Macedonian communist born in **Skopje**. Active in the **partisan movement** during **World War II**, Sejfulla was one of the few Albanian members of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia**. He was a high-ranking official at the republican and federal level after 1945, serving as mayor of Skopje from 1951 to 1954, government minister, and Yugoslav ambassador to Zimbabwe. *See also* AGOLI, NEXHAT; RUSI, LJUTVI.

ŠEKERINSKA, RADMILA (1972–). High-profile politician, leader of the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDAM)**. A graduate in electrical engineering from **Skopje** University, Šekerinska was elected to the Macedonian capital’s city council in 1996 and in 1998 won a seat in the national parliament. She soon rose to the position of deputy chairperson of the SDAM and, after the 2002 elections, became deputy prime minister in charge of European inte-

gration. Šekerinska was widely credited for Macedonia's achievements on the path to becoming an official candidate for membership in the **European Union**. After **Branko Crvenkovski** resigned in 2004 to participate in the presidential campaign, Šekerinska was, for a brief period of time in May and June 2004, a caretaker prime minister. She served in that position again in November–December 2004, after the resignation of **Hari Kostov**. In November 2006, Šekerinska replaced **Vlado Bučkovski** as the SDAM's leader following the defeat in the general elections in July. She resigned after the SDAM-led coalition Sonce (Sun) lost at the early elections in June 2008. *See also* MITREVA, ILINKA.

SELMANI, IMER (1968–). Leading politician, prominent member of the **Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA)**. Educated at Skopje University, Selmani is a medical doctor by profession. He was the head of the DPA branch in the village of Saraj near **Skopje** from 2001 to 2003, and became the party's vice president in 2003. He was the village mayor between 2000 and 2006 and became minister of health in the government of Nikola Gruevski. *See also* THAÇI, MENDUH; XHAFERI, ARBEN.

SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION (SRPSKI KOMITET ČETNIČKE AKCIJE). Organization established by Dr. Milorad Godjevac (1860–1933), a medical doctor and political activist in 1903. Godjevac's goal was to mobilize the pro-Serb population in the Vardar region ("Old Serbia") and push back the Bulgarian advances in the region. He drew inspiration from the statutes and methods of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** with which he became familiar thanks to the IMARO commanders who visited **Belgrade** in the course of 1901.

The new organization moved into action after the May 1903 coup in **Serbia**. It was backed by Jovan Atanacković (1848–1921) and other members of *Crna ruka* (Black Hand), the secret officer society that had brought the Karadjordjević dynasty back to the throne. Godjevac and his associates, such as the Herzegovina-born Luka Čelović (1854–1929), organized guerilla units (*četas*) recruiting people from among the numerous Macedonian immigrants in Belgrade. These

bands were then dispatched south, using the border town of Vranje as a base, much like the IMARO did with respect to Kjustendil and Dupnica in **Bulgaria**. The organization liaised with the Serbian consulate in **Skopje** and attracted some activists of the IMARO and its rival, the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**, like **Gligur Sokolov(ić)**, adventurers such as the former monk from Slavonia Vasilije Trbić, as well as local firebrands such as **Micko Krstić** or Jovan Dolgačo. In 1904–1908, the Serb bands managed to carve out substantial areas of influence in northern and central Macedonia, around **Kumanovo** and Kratovo, north of Skopje, in the **Poreće** and **Azot** regions. They took advantage of the IMARO's state of disarray following the defeat of the **Ilinden Uprising**. The rivalry ended in a stalemate at the time when the **Young Turk Revolution** broke out in the summer of 1908. Its commanders assisted the Serb army during the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**. Gavrilo Princip, who shot Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in June 1914, was connected to Vojislav Tankosić, a member of both *Crna ruka* and the Serb Committee for Četnik Action. *See also* ST. SAVA SOCIETY; SERBS.

SERBIA. Serbia is perhaps Macedonia's most important neighbor in political and economic terms. Relations since independence have had their ups and downs. Macedonia participated in the international sanctions against rump **Yugoslavia** (renamed Serbia and Montenegro in 2003), which hurt trade and contributed to the rise of a criminal cross-border **economy**. The Yugoslav People's Army withdrew peacefully from Macedonia in April 1992, and Belgrade did not put forward any territorial claims, despite the occasional irredentist statements made by radical nationalists such as Vojislav Šešelj. Yet the common border was left undemarcated until 2001, when president **Boris Trajkovski** signed an agreement with his Yugoslav counterpart, Vojislav Koštunica. The **Kosovo** issue coming to the fore in 1998–1999 had important repercussions south of the border. In 1999, Macedonia hosted 360,000 refugees from the Serbian province. Many Macedonians opposed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** bombing campaign, while **Albanians** were strongly in favor. After Kosovo proclaimed independence in February 2008, the Macedonian government delayed the recognition of independence, wary of the domestic fallout and the impact on relations with Serbia.

With Serbia's democratization following the fall of Slobodan Milošević in October 2000, political and economic relations advanced. They started from a relatively good basis. Despite the policy of "equidistance" promulgated by **Kiro Gligorov** in the 1990s, social, cultural, and even family links with Serbia persisted through the period. By 2006, Serbia and Montenegro accounted for 23.2 percent of Macedonian exports (443 million euro) and 7.5 percent of the imports (224 million euros), making it the third most important partner after the **European Union** and Russia. Serbia remains the conduit for Macedonian traffic toward central and western Europe. The two states cooperated in a range of multilateral institutions present in the Balkans.

However, the relationship is still hindered by the refusal of the Serbian Orthodox Church to recognize the independence of the **Macedonian Orthodox Church**. In 2002, a breakaway bishop, Metropolitan Jovan (Zoran Vraniškovski), established an archbishopric subordinate to the Serbian Patriarch. Another irritant has been the status of the monastery St. Prohor of Pčinja (South Serbia), where the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** had its first session in August 1944. Macedonians have claimed that Serb authorities have prevented them from visiting the monastery to commemorate the event. *See also* ALBANIA; BULGARIA; GREECE; SERBS.

SERBS (SRBI). Serbs number 35,939 in Macedonia according to the 2002 census. They are concentrated mostly in **Skopje** and the **Kumanovo** region. In the interwar years, the group's numbers were much higher thanks to the 70,000 colonists who arrived from Herzegovina, Montenegro, and **Serbia** proper as well as the perseverance of Serb identity in various localities such as Skopska Crna Gora, **Azot**, **Poreče**, **Tetovo**, Kumanovo, and Drimkol (near **Struga**). Serbian schools and cultural institutions gained a foothold across **Vardar Macedonia** in the early 20th century.

Historically, the boundary between Serbs and Macedonian Slavs has been fluid (*see* KOSOVO). As investigated by **Jovan Cvijić**, there were alternating movements of population between the Vardar region and the Serb-populated territories to the north at least since the 14th century, when the Vardar valley was part of the Serb medie-

val state (*see* DUŠAN THE MIGHTY). In the latter half of the 19th-century, local Slavic labor migrants, particularly from western Macedonia, headed to **Belgrade** and other urban settlements in Serbia proper. Those migrants were an important channel for Serbia's influence. Another factor was church affiliation. North of the **Ohrid-Prilep-Strumica** line, the **Patriarchist** Slavs sided with the Serbian Orthodox Church, independent since 1879, rather than with the Hellenizing **Constantinople Patriarchate**. These were commonly called by the Bulgarophile population *sŭrbomani*, a derogatory term meaning "fanatical Serbs."

The numbers of Serbs dropped dramatically in **World War II** when the Bulgarian authorities forced the colonists out of Macedonia. In postwar Macedonia, formerly pro-Serb areas such as Poreče were effectively Macedonianized. Still Serbs were recognized as a national community under the **constitution** and were granted the right of education in their own **language**.

By and large, local Serbs, unlike their kin elsewhere in former **Yugoslavia**, accepted the secession of Macedonia in 1991. They formed the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia (*Demokratska partija Srba u Makedoniji*) in 1990 to participate in the political process. From 2002 to 2006, the party, led by Ivan Stoiljkovic, supported the **Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia**—led coalition, and their representatives were appointed to government positions.

SILJANOV, HRISTO (1880–1939). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** activist, journalist, and scholar born in Istanbul into an **Ohrid** family. Having spent time in the band of **Marko Lerinski**, Siljanov fought in the **Adrianople** district during the **Ilinden Uprising**. After 1918 he settled in **Sofia** and worked at various newspapers and journals. He also published several books containing his memoirs. Commissioned by the IMRO, Siljanov wrote *The Liberation Struggles of Macedonia and the District of Adrianople* (Vol. I, 1934, and Vol. II, posthumously, 1943), an important chronicle of the organization's history. A Macedonian translation was published in **Skopje** in 2003 to mark the centenary of Ilinden. *See also* MACEDONIAN SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE.

SIMEON I THE GREAT (864/5–927). The most powerful monarch of the First Bulgarian Tsardom (894–927). Simeon's rule saw **Bul-**

garia turning, for a short period of time, into a veritable hegemon in the Balkans, effectively challenging the power of **Byzantium**. Its territory encompassed present-day **Serbia**, **Albania**, and the valleys of **Vardar**. In 913, Simeon was the first ruler to assume the title of Tsar, a Slavic derivative of the Latin *Caesar*, claiming power over “Bulgarians and Greeks.” Like his father, Prince **Boris I**, he was also a renowned patron of learning and scholarship largely owing to his advanced education in Constantinople. Simeon supported **St. Clement** and **St. Naum**, who were both officials in the state administration. The figure of Simeon has been a source of inspiration for Bulgarian nationalists since the 19th century, in much the same way that Tsar **Dušan the Mighty** has been for the **Serbs**. *See also* SAMUEL, TSAR.

SKENDERBEG, GEORGE KASTRIOTI (ALBANIAN, GJERGJ KASTRIOTI SKËNDERBEU) (1405–1468). Feudal lord from northern **Albania** who led, starting from 1443, a dogged and successful resistance campaign against the invading **Ottoman** armies. Skenderbeg won a cult status across western Europe as one of the defenders of Christendom, irrespective of the fact that he had earlier converted from Catholicism to Islam.

Since the late 19th century, Skenderbeg has been at the center of the Albanian national pantheon, and he is a revered figure for the Albanian community in Macedonia. In November 2006, the **Skopje** municipality of Čair unveiled a monument to Skenderbeg, which spurred a major political controversy. At the same time, some amateur historians have claimed that Skenderbeg hailed from the Slavic communities of the **Debar** and **Reka** regions, where some of the important battles with the Ottoman forces took place. *See also* ALBANIANS.

SKOPJE (ALBANIAN, SHKUP; TURKISH, ÜSKÜB; SERBIAN: SKOPLJE). The principal urban center and the capital of the Republic of Macedonia; 506,926 inhabitants, according to the 2002 census. With origins going back to antiquity, Skopje was an important Roman and **Byzantine** settlement situated on an important commercial route along the valley of the **Vardar** River. It was a regional center in the First and the Second Bulgarian Tsardom and later served

as the capital of **Dušan the Mighty**'s Serbian empire. The town was seized by the **Ottomans** in January 1392 and soon acquired a Muslim majority. During the 15th and 16th centuries, the local Ottoman governors erected a number of religious and secular buildings: magnificent mosques, a clock tower, inns, marketplaces, and public baths that defined the urban environment of the city (*see* ISA BEG; ISHAK BEG; MUSTAFA PAŠA). Skopje was devastated by fire and plague in 1689 after it was captured by the Austrian general **Eneo Piccolomini**. The city recovered slowly to become again an important commercial and administrative hub in the 19th century. It was at a center of a *vilâyet* covering today's northern Republic of Macedonia and **Kosovo**.

In 1912 Skopje was conquered by the Serbian army and was fully incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia**) after **World War I**. Run for many years by mayor Josif Mihailović-Jurukoski (1887–1941), a **Belgrade**-educated architect hailing from Tresonce in the **Reka** area, it developed considerably in the 1920s and 1930s. The interwar Yugoslav authorities groomed Skopje as an economic and cultural center of the newly acquired lands in the south. It became the capital of the **Vardar Banate** established after the royalist coup in 1929 (*see* KARADJORDJEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR). The new architectural milieu was dominated by landmarks such as the Officers' Club and the King Petar I Square on the south side of the **Vardar** River. On the north side was the old town area defined by its Ottoman heritage: the bazaar (*čaršija*), the fortress (*kale*), and the principal mosques. The city's demographics changed owing to Muslim emigration to Turkey and the advent of peasants as well as of administrative and military personnel and settlers from various parts of Yugoslavia. It also grew rapidly, from 41,000 in 1921 to 80,000 only 20 years thereafter.

Skopje developed significantly after **World War II** as it became a republican capital. At that time, many new agencies, cultural institutions, and industrial enterprises were opened, and new waves of rural migrants settled in. On 26 July 1963, Skopje was struck by a powerful earthquake that killed 1,000 of its inhabitants, left another 120,000 homeless, and destroyed many public sites (including the Officers' Club). It was followed by a major international campaign that channeled vast quantities of aid toward the rebuilding of the city.

New public buildings were constructed in modernistic style, with the master plan elaborated by the renowned Japanese architect Kenzo Tange in 1966.

In October 1991, Skopje became the capital of the newly independent Republic of Macedonia. The municipality boundaries were expanded in August 2004 with the inclusion of the Albanian-populated communities of Saraj and Kondovo. As a result, Albanian was recognized as a second official language in the municipality in line with the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**. *See also* URBANIZATION.

SLAVO-MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (*SLAVOMAKEDONSKI NARODNOOSLOBODITELEN FRONT*, **SNOF**). Guerrilla corps founded by **ELAS** and the Greek Communist Party in the districts of Florina and especially of Castoria/Kostur, with the aim of mobilizing the local Slavic inhabitants, including the paramilitaries of the pro-Bulgarian organization **Ohrana**. The SNOF was active between October 1943 and April 1944 and involved, according to Yugoslav Macedonian historians, up to 15,000 volunteers. It fell under the control of the Yugoslav **partisans** from **Vardar Macedonia** headed by **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo** and **Cvetko Uzunovski-Abaz**. The SNOF was disbanded because of disagreements with Greek communists who were apprehensive of the corps' autonomist tendencies. Former members of the SNOF fought in the communist forces during the **Greek Civil War** (1946–1949), where they formed the People's Liberation Front. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

SMILEVSKI, VIDOJE "BATO" (1915–1979). Communist functionary and **partisan** commander. Born in Nikiforovo, **Gostivar** region, Smilevski was active in the communist movement starting from the early 1930s when he was attending high school in **Belgrade**. From 1941 to 1944 he was a partisan in **Serbia**. In July 1944 Smilevski was transferred to the **Vardar** region and attached to the **Communist Party of Macedonia**. Disliked by certain local activists, Smilevski was part of the pro-Yugoslav camp around **Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo** and **Lazar Koliševski**. After **World War II**, he served in a number of top party and government positions in **Skopje**. *See also* UZUNOVSKI, CVETKO.

ŠNEGAROV, IVAN (1883–1971). Bulgarian academic, specialist in medieval and ecclesiastical history. Born in **Ohrid**, Šnegarov was an **Exarchist** teacher in various parts of Macedonia. He settled after 1918 in **Sofia** and pursued a lecturer career at the local university's Faculty of Theology from 1926 onward. In 1943, Šnegarov was elected to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He was also among the founders of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute**, which published his major work, the history of the **Ohrid Archbishopric** (1924; Vol. II, 1932). *See also* MILETIĆ, LJUBOMIR.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF MACEDONIA (SDAM; SOCIALDEMOKRATSKI SOJUZ NA MAKEDONIJA). Major **political party** in Macedonia founded in April 1991, heir to the **League of Communists of Macedonia**. Led by **Branko Crvenkovski**, the SDAM, appearing also as Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, was in power from 1992 to 1998. It was voted back into office in 2002 and ran the country until 2006. The Macedonian presidents **Kiro Gligorov** and Branko Crvenkovski both came from the party's ranks. Unlike its principal rival, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)**, the SDAM has traditionally enjoyed support from the urban middle classes, the old Yugoslav managerial elites, and the former *nomenklatura*. The natural party of power, it defined the mainstream of Macedonian politics since independence. Still, SDAM saw two major splits in 1993 when **Petar Gošev** founded the Democratic Party, and in 2005 with the formation of the New Social Democratic Party led by **Tito Petkovski**, the socialist candidate in the 1999 presidential elections. Except for a brief period in the late 1990s, the SDAM was considered a moderate force in comparison with its right-wing opponents and favored cooperation with elements in the Albanian community such as the **Party for Democratic Prosperity**. In 2002, the social democrats formed a coalition government with the **Democratic Union for Integration**, which was established by figures associated with the **National Liberation Army**. After November 2006, the party was headed by **Radmila Šekerinska** surrounded by younger-generation figures such as the mayor of **Strumica** Zoran Zaev, Jani Makraduli, and Goran Minčev. Lacking support from the old party barons, Šekerinska had

to resign in June 2008 following the defeat of the SDAM-led coalition *Sonce* (Sun) in the early elections. Though running on a pro-European Union and reformist platform, the social democrats won 23 percent of the vote (27 mandates) compared to 47 percent (63 mandates) for the IMRO-DPMNU. The result unleashed a crisis in the party's ranks, prompting the informal leader, president Branko Crvenkovski, to intervene. *See also* BUČKOVSKI, VLADO; HAN-DŽISKI, BLAGOJ; KOSTOV, HARI; MITREVA, ILINKA.

SOFIA. The capital of modern **Bulgaria**, a major urban settlement in the central parts of the Balkan peninsula. Sofia was chosen to be the state capital in 1879 due to its proximity to Macedonia, considered the most significant piece of the Bulgarian *irredenta* remaining under **Ottoman** control after the **Berlin Treaty**. From very early on, the city became a center of gravity for many Macedonian Slavs, who pursued education, livelihood, and employment opportunities and contributed to Bulgaria's expanding bureaucracy, schooling system, and military (*see* KARANDŽULOV, NIKOLA; LJAPČEV, ANDREJ; PROTOGEROV, ALEKSANDŪR; RIZOV, DIMITŪR).

Sofia was an important base for both the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** and the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee**. It was also home to the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities, a **diaspora** association involving émigrés from different parts of Macedonia, the **Ilinden Organization**, the **Macedonian Scientific Institute**, two banks with Macedonian shareholders, and a number of benevolent societies. After the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**, the share of Macedonia-born inhabitants, particularly in the refugee quarters west of the city center, rose further, and according to some estimates was about half of the total (530,000 in 1946).

In the interwar period, Sofia was the scene of internecine struggles between the various factions of the IMRO. In the 1930s, communist activists residing in the city started developing the notion of a separate Macedonian ethnic nation, **language**, and history on the pages of the leftist press and in associations such as the **Macedonian Literary Circle**.

The economic, cultural, and human ties between the city and neighboring **Vardar Macedonia**, though never disappearing alto-

gether, declined after the **Cominform** schism of 1948. In the 1990s, with the start of democratic and market reforms in both the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria, Sofia once more became a magnet for students and businesspeople from the newly independent country, though in cultural terms its influence was secondary to that of Belgrade and perhaps even Zagreb.

SOKOLOVIĆ, GLIGUR “LJAME” (?–1910). Serb commander from the village of Nebregovo near **Prilep**. Until the defeat of the **Ilinden Uprising**, Sokolović was part of the **Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee** and the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**. He was recruited for the Serb cause by Dr. Milorad Godjevac, the head of the **Serb Committee for Četnik Action**, in **Belgrade**, where he spent, together with other band leaders, the winter of 1903–1904. Sokolović managed to eliminate a number of the IMARO leaders in the **Veles** and **Prilep** areas and to establish control over the **Azot** and **Por-eće** areas. He was killed in 1910, according to some by the Turks and to others by the IMARO. Sokolović was a first cousin of academician **Blaže Koneski**’s father. *See also* BABUNSKI, JOVAN; KRSTIĆ, MICKO.

ŠOPOV, ACO (1923–1982). Renowned poet and translator from **Štip**, one of the founding fathers of the contemporary Macedonian **literature**. Šopov, who participated in the **partisan movement**, published a number of poetry collections with poems starting from 1944. He was a member of the Macedonian Writers’ Association since its establishment in 1947 and of the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts**, and also served in the 1970s as a Yugoslav diplomat. *See also* ČAŠULE, KOLE.

SPROSTRANOV, EVTIM (1868–1931). Political activist and scholar born in **Ohrid**. Sprostranov studied in **Salonica** and later at **Sofia University**. In the 1890s, he was a member of the **Young Macedonian Literary Company** and later joined the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. He was a teacher at a number of **Exarchist** schools around Macedonia and, after 1904, the chief inspector of the Bulgarian school system in the **Salonica**

vilâyet. Sprostranov was close to **Damjan Gruev** and **Hristo Matov** and opposed the **Federalists** around **Jane Sandanski**. He also published a number of articles on the **Macedonian Question** in the Bulgarian press as well as materials on the history of the area.

After 1918, Sprostranov emerged as one of the leading figures in the **diaspora** in Sofia. He was the secretary of the **Ilinden Organization** and founder of the **Macedonian Scientific Institute**. In the internecine struggles following the murder of **Todor Aleksandrov**, Sprostranov sided with his fellow Ohrid townsman General **Aleksandŭr Protogerov**. Yugoslav Macedonian historiographers such as **Gane Todorovski** have claimed that in his writings Sprostranov proved an early advocate of Macedonian national separatism. *See also* PROTOGEROVISTS.

ST. SAVA SOCIETY (DRUŠTVO SVETI SAVA). Serbian educational organization founded in 1886 in **Belgrade** by the government of **Milutin Garaanin**. The society's aim was to spread the Serbian cultural influence and counteract the Bulgarian and Greek inroads into Macedonia. It was coordinated by the ambassador to the Sublime Porte **Stojan Novaković**, considered an expert on the **Macedonian Question**. The association sponsored schools across "Old Serbia" (**Kosovo** and northern Macedonia) and provided scholarships for study in Belgrade and other Serb towns to youths from those regions. Among the grantees were notable figures such as **Damjan Gruev**, **Petŭr Poparsov**, and **Krste Misirkov**. The St. Sava Society declined when the Serbian government decided in 1891 to curb, under **Ottoman** pressure, its financial subsidies. *See also* SERB COMMITTEE FOR ČETNIK ACTION; SERBS.

STAMBOLIJSKI, ALEKSANDŬR (1880–1923). Leading Bulgarian politician, one of the founders of the Agrarian Union, prime minister from 1919 to 1923. As a leader of the Agrarians in the Bulgarian parliament, Stambolijski was one of the main opponents of the country's participation in **World War I** on the side of the Central Powers. He was imprisoned for life in 1915 but was released in 1918 and, in the following year, was inaugurated as a prime minister.

On behalf of **Bulgaria**, Stambolijski signed the **Neuilly Peace Treaty** in November 1919. He pursued a policy aimed at *rapproche-*

ment with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia**) and attempted to rein in the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** based in the regions along the two countries' common border (*see* NIŠ AGREEMENT). The Agrarians also clamped down on the old bourgeois parties that were blamed for leading Bulgaria into a series of devastating wars at the expense of the peasantry, and alienated the communists.

Stambolijski was deposed by a military *coup d'état* on 9 June 1923 supported by the IMRO bands. He was brutally murdered five days after the coup in his native village of Slavovica in southern Bulgaria by an armed posse headed by Veličko Veljanov-Čičeto, an IMRO commander from **Skopje**. *See also* ALEKSANDROV, TODOR.

STAMBOLOV, STEFAN (1854–1895). Bulgarian national activist and statesman born in Veliko Tŭrnovo. Stambolov was a central figure in the anti-**Ottoman** movement of the 1870s and, after the **Berlin Treaty**, was a key figure in various irredentist organizations. He was a leader of the **Kresna Uprising** of 1878–1879 and the unification of the Principality of **Bulgaria** and Eastern Rumelia in 1885. Stambolov dominated Bulgarian politics as a prime minister between 1887 and 1894. His foreign policy favored Austria-Hungary and opposed Russian designs in the Balkans.

Stambolov presided over a *rapprochement* with the Sublime Porte, resulting in the appointment of several **Exarchist** metropolitans in Macedonia during the 1890s as well as in concessions for the Bulgarian schools in the Ottoman lands. At the same time, he treated heavily-handedly the Macedonian émigrés in Bulgaria, many of whom supported his Russophile opponents. One of Stambolov's most vocal critics was **Petŭr Poparsov**, a founder of the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**.

Stambolov was brutally murdered in July 1895 after falling from power in the previous years. The mastermind of the assassination was Naum Tjufekčiev, a native of Resen, who was associated with the anti-Stambolovist **Young Macedonian Literary Company** and later procured arms for the IMARO. *See also* KITANČEV, TRAJKO; RIZOV, DIMITŬR.

STAR OF VERGINA. Stylized figure of a star or sun with 16 rays. The Star of Vergina is popularly considered to have been the coat of

arms of the ruling dynasty in the ancient Kingdom of **Macedon**. There are scholars who dispute this view and see the emblem as a common decorative element. The prototype of the star was “discovered” in 1977 during archeological excavations in northern **Greece** (**Aegean Macedonia**) conducted by professor Manolis Andronikos (1919–1992) from **Salonica**. It was engraved on a golden box (*larnax*), part of a royal burial that some scholars and popular writers link with King **Philip II**. The star was taken up by nationalist Slavic Macedonian groups from **Vardar** and Aegean Macedonia in Australia and North America as a national symbol. It was also chosen as the Republic of Macedonia’s official coat of arms following independence and featured on the country’s **flag**.

This provoked an enormous backlash in Greece and among the Greek **diaspora** abroad, including by communities and individuals originating from the Greek part of geographical Macedonia. Both Greek diplomacy and the majority of Greeks saw Skopje’s usage of the Star of Vergina, sometimes called “the star/sun of Kutleš” (*dzvezdata od Kutleš*) after the village’s Slavic name, as an overt claim on their nation’s ancient history and territory. Protests barred the Republic of Macedonia from displaying the symbol at the **United Nations**, the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, as well as in the diplomatic offices in Australia and the **United States**. It was adopted by various public and private institutions in Greece and in 1992 appeared on the 100 *drachmae* coins. In February 1993, the Hellenic parliament passed a resolution proclaiming the star as an official national symbol.

Following the **Interim Accord** of September 1995, the Republic of Macedonia removed the Vergina star from its flag. However, fringe nationalist groups, particularly those seeking present-day Macedonian Slavs’ roots in the glorious era of Macedon, still routinely use the symbol in their insignia and publications.

Macedonia continues to use its coat of arms inherited from the communist period. True to the Soviet-type designs, it contains the images of a mountain, a lake, and a sunrise circled by sheaves of wheat, tobacco, and buds of poppy. The whole ensemble is crowned by a red star. Proposals to replace the emblem with a lion on a red background, considered a more authentic symbol, have come to nothing. The change is opposed by those who see the lion as ethnically

divisive (it does not appeal to the Albanian community), biased toward a political party (the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity**, which uses it as its own symbol), and, perhaps most importantly, intimating a special relationship with **Bulgaria**, which also has a lion as a national emblem.

STAROVA, LUAN (1941–). Macedonian Albanian author, scholar, translator, and diplomat. Starova was born in the town of Pogradec (**Albania**), but his family soon moved to **Skopje**, where he grew up. He obtained a doctorate in French and comparative literature in Zagreb and then joined the faculty at Skopje University. Writing in both Albanian and Macedonian, he is the author of celebrated novels such as *Tatkovite knigi* (Father's Books, 1992), *Koha e dhive* (The Age of the Goat, 1993), and *Ateistički muzej* (The Museum of Atheism, 1997), as well as poetry and essays. Starova was elected a member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts and served as Macedonia's first ambassador to France in the early 1990s. *See also* LITERATURE; STAROVA, VULLNET.

STAROVA, VULLNET (1934–1995). Prominent physician and political figure, brother of Luan Starova. Dr. Starova served as speaker of the Republic of Macedonia's first multiparty assembly in 1990–1991. *See also* ANDOV, STOJAN; GEORGIEVSKI, LJUBIŠA; KLIMOVSKI, SAVO; PETKOVSKI, TITO.

STAVRESKI, ZORAN (1964–). Macedonian politician, deputy prime minister in the cabinet of **Nikola Gruevski**. Born in **Ohrid**, Stavreski studied at the **Skopje** University's Economic Faculty. In 2000–2001, he worked at the Macedonian Ministry of Finance. He made a career at the World Bank, becoming in 2006 the lead economist in charge of the operational policy and country services units. He joined the government in August 2006, as part of the technocratic team put together by Gruevski with a view to strengthening the country's economic performance. As a deputy prime minister, Stavreski was among the engineers of business-friendly reforms such as the introduction of a flat-tax regime in 2007. Stavreski was also responsible for managing the regional aid disbursed by the **European Union**

through its Pre-Accession Instrument. He kept his position after the general elections in June 2008. *See also* ECONOMY; PRIVATIZATION.

STEFANOVSKI, VLATKO (1957–). Famous musician, originally from **Prilep**. A virtuoso guitar player, Stefanovski was the leader of *Leb i Sol* (Bread and Salt), a **Skopje** rock band that, starting from the 1970s, attained a considerable following across former **Yugoslavia**. The group was renowned for its modernized interpretations of Macedonian **folklore**. Stefanovski has also won critical acclaim for his solo projects, which combine styles as diverse as ethno, jazz, and rock. *See also* MUSIC.

ŠTIP. Town in eastern Macedonia, located in the plain of Ovče pole. According to the 2002 census, Štip has a population of 40,016 (47,796 together with the municipality). *See also* URBANIZATION.

STRUGA. Town in southwestern Macedonia located on the bank of Lake **Ohrid**, on both sides of the Crni Drim River. According to the 2002 census, there are 16,559 inhabitants, 59 percent of whom are Macedonians. The larger municipality, however, has an Albanian majority. The redrawing of municipal borders led to mass protests and political tension in July 2004. The birthplace of the **Miladinov** brothers, Struga hosts since 1962 the Struga Poetry Evenings, an annual festival in their honor. *See also* OHRID.

STRUMICA (GREEK, STROMNITSA; TURKISH, USTRUMCA).

Town in southeastern Macedonia close to the borders with **Bulgaria** and **Greece**. According to the 2002 census, Strumica has a population of 35,311, most of whom are **Macedonians**. There is a sizable Turkish community too. *See also* URBANIZATION.

SUPREME MACEDONO-ADRIANOPOLITAN COMMITTEE (SMAC; VŮRHOVEN MAKEDONO-ODRINSKI KOMITET).

The SMAC was established in 1895 by Macedonian émigrés in **Sofia** under the name Supreme Macedonian Committee. *Adrianopolitan* was added later, following the 1900 merger with the Strandža Society

representing migrants from Thrace. The SMAC's purpose was annexing **Ottoman**-ruled Macedonia and **Adrianople** to **Bulgaria**. Its first chairman was the renowned activist and poet **Trajko Kitančev**. The committee recruited and funded guerrilla detachments penetrating Ottoman territory, and carried out political propaganda within Bulgaria and western Europe. It staged several major incursions, including the occupation of Melnik in July 1895. In the first years of its existence, the committee cooperated with the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**, and some of its commanders, such as **Boris Sarafov** and **Jane Sandanski**, actually joined the "internals."

After General **Ivan Cončev**, a figure well connected with the Bulgarian prince Ferdinand and the military, took the lead in 1901, relations deteriorated as the IMARO leadership opposed direct control from Sofia. *Vŭrhovist* (supremist) detachments clashed on a number of occasions with the IMARO bands led by Jane Sandanski, **Hristo Černopee**v, Krŭstjo Asenov, and others. Reading this struggle as competition between two ethnic movements, a Bulgarian and Macedonian one, is far-fetched. In fact, key supremacist leaders like Colonel **Anastas Jankov** came from the Macedonian **diaspora** in Sofia, while a number of their proautonomy rivals, notably Černopee and Asenov, were natives of "old Bulgaria." A faction within the SMAC headed by the Kukuš-born Hristo Stanišev continued cooperating with the IMARO, while many commanders moved back and forth between the two organizations (*see* DAVIDOV, TOMA; PROTOGEROV, ALEKSANDŮR).

In September 1902, the SMAC launched an uprising in the Gorna Džumaja area across the border with Bulgaria. The revolt was promptly crushed by the Ottoman forces, whose campaign threatened seriously the network the IMARO had installed and cultivated for more than a decade. Following Ottoman protests, the Bulgarian government abolished the committee in February 1903. During the **Ilin-den Uprising**, the old SMAC commanders joined forces with their former rivals. In the autumn of 1905, following Cončev's retirement, the two organizations decided to merge at the IMARO's Rila Congress.

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TALESKI, BORKA "CRNIOT" (1921–1942). Communist activist born in **Prilep**. Taleski entered the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1939 while studying medicine in **Belgrade**. He was one of the organizers of the attack against the Bulgarian police department in his native town on 11 October 1941. He was killed by the gendarmerie in March 1942. *See also* ACEVA, VERA; BOŠKOVSKI, TRAJKO.

TALEV, DIMITŪR PALISLAMOV (1898–1966). Famous writer and journalist. Born in **Prilep** to a family involved in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**, Talev settled in **Sofia** in 1921 and from 1927 to 1934 wrote for the *Macedonia* newspaper loyal to **Ivan Mihajlov**. Talev became its chief editor in 1930, following the murder of **Georgi Tomalevski**, but later on he moved to *Zora* edited by **Danail Krapčev**, a fellow townsman and relative. He published many travelogues and short stories devoted to life in Macedonia. Persecuted by the communists after 1944, Talev was rehabilitated in the 1950s, and his books depicting the revolutionary struggles in turn-of-the-century Macedonia enjoyed wide popularity in **Bulgaria** while literary critics in **Skopje**, such as **Dimitar Mitrev**, rejected his work as an expression of Bulgarian irredentism. Talev's novel *Ilinden* was published in **Skopje** in 2003, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the **Ilinden Uprising**.

TANZIMAT. Period of reform in the **Ottoman Empire** starting from the 1820s and culminating in the constitution of 1876. Tanzimat, meaning "reorganization" in Ottoman, involved the abolition of the *janissary* corps in 1826, the creation of a modern army and bureaucracy, and the overhaul of the taxation system. It was carried through by forward-looking sultans such as Mahmud II (1808–1839) and Abdŭlmecid (1839–1861) seeking to modernize the ailing empire. Abdŭlmecid's edicts (*fermans*), such as the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of Gülhane of 1839 and the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856, led to the economic and political empowerment of the non-Muslim inhabitants of the Ottoman realm. However, they also catalyzed the growth of nationalisms across the Balkan and the Anatolian provinces, including in the Macedonian *vilâyet*s. The reforms peaked with the short-lived Ottoman

Constitution of 1876 and were thereafter partly reversed by Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909). In 1908, however, the **Young Turk Revolution** ushered in the so-called Second Constitutional Era of momentous political transformation.

TATARČEV, HRISTO (1869–1952). Founder and leading figure in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**. Born to a notable merchant family in Resen, Tatarčev was trained as a physician in Zurich and Berlin and later taught at the Bulgarian **Exarchist** high school in **Salonica**. As was the first president of the IMRO, Dr. Tatarčev was arrested and exiled to Bodrum in Asia Minor in 1901 together with the organization's leadership. Amnestied in 1902, he settled in **Sofia** and headed the organization's Foreign Representation. Sympathizing with the **federalist** faction after **World War I**, Tatarčev clashed with **Todor Aleksandrov** and left **Bulgaria** in 1923 for Italy, where he died in 1952.

Tatarčev's family was also involved in the Macedonian movement. His nephew, Asen, was an IMRO activist in interwar **Yugoslavia** and in 1946 was imprisoned for collaborating with the Bulgarian authorities during **World War II**. Tatarčev's grand nephew, **Ivan Tatarčev**, Bulgaria's prosecutor general in 1992–1999, was an honorary chairman of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies** in the 1990s. *See also* DELČEV, GOCE; GRUEV, DAMJAN; MATOV, HRISTO; PETROV, GJORČE.

TEMELKOVSKI, BORO “LILJAK” (1919–2001). Communist functionary, prominent member of the **partisan movement** in **World War II**. Temelkovski was a member of the first Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Macedonia** in 1943. Temelkovski was a longtime chairman of the Association of Partisan Fighters in Macedonia (*Sojuz na borci na Makedonija*).

TETOVO (ALBANIAN, TETOVA; TURKISH, KALKANDELEN). Town in northwestern Macedonia (the region of **Polog**). The principal center of the Albanian community in the country. According to the 2002 census, Tetovo has 52,915 inhabitants of which 28,897 are **Albanians**. The population of the wider area around the city amounts

to some 180,000 people, two-thirds of whom are again Albanian. *See also* URBANIZATION.

THAÇI, MENDUH (1965–). Macedonian Albanian politician born in **Tetovo**. In the 1980s, Thaçi studied medicine at Prishtina University. He was cofounder and deputy leader of the **Democratic Party of Albanians** in 1994. He was elected chairman of the party in 2007. *See also* ALBANIANS; SELMANI, IMER; XHAFERI, ARBEN.

THEODOSSIOUS OF SKOPJE (1846–1926). **Exarchist** metropolitan of **Skopje**, born as Vasil Gologanov in the village of Turlis near Serres. Theodossius (Teodosij) is credited by the Macedonian historiography for his attempt to restore the autocephaly of the **Ohrid Archbishopric** under the aegis of the Catholic Church in 1891. Bulgarian historians have explained this initiative with Theodossius's personal animosity toward the Istanbul-based Exarch Joseph. Removed from the Skopje See in 1892, he was exiled to a monastery near **Sofia**. From 1901 to 1906, Theodossius was the metropolitan of Plovdiv, and from 1913 to 1919 was the Bulgarian bishop of Maroneia in present-day Greek Thrace. Theodossius was also a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. *See also* KUSEVIČ, METODI; NATHANIEL OF OHRID.

TIKVEŠ. A region in the south of Republic of Macedonia along the banks of the **Vardar** River. Its principal centers are the towns of Kavadarci and Negotino.

TITO, JOSIP BROZ (1892–1980). Yugoslav communist leader, one of the most prominent political personalities in the latter half of the 20th century. Tito was born in Kumrovec in present-day Croatia. Secretary-general of the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** since 1937, he headed the **partisan movement** in **Yugoslavia** during **World War II**. He played a key role in the recognition of Macedonians as a constitutive people in the Yugoslav ethnofederal system emerging at the end of the war. Tito established an effective control over the communists in **Vardar Macedonia**, winning out in the rivalry with the **Bulgarian Communist Party**. He favored the establishment of a Balkan federation that would lead to the unification of

all three parts of geographic Macedonia under Yugoslavia's umbrella (*see* BLED AGREEMENTS). The conflict with Joseph Stalin and the defeat of the Greek communists in 1949 brought those plans to an end. At the same time, Tito's security apparatus carried out repression against Bulgarophiles, Macedonian nationalists, Albanian radicals and, after 1948, the pro-**Cominform** activists. According to recent research, there were 2,500 political prisoners in the **Skopje** jail in 1949–1951.

Starting from the 1950s, Yugoslav Macedonia was profoundly affected by the economic policies espoused by Tito focusing on modernization and rapid industrial development. Coupled with the propaganda spawned by the one-party state, these enhanced tremendously his popularity as a leader. It lasts until this very day, fueled by nostalgia for the Yugoslav golden age. Tito visited the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on many occasions—notably in 1949, when he addressed veterans from the **Greek Civil War**; in 1957, opening the Mavrovo hydroelectric plant at the village of Vrutok; and on 27 July 1963, a day after an earthquake ravaged Skopje. Central streets are named after him, while president **Branko Crvenkovski** inaugurated a monument to the leader in downtown Skopje in 2006. During the communist period, the town of **Veles** was officially named Titov (Tito's) Veles. *See also* DIMITROV, GEORGI; KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR; ŽIVKOV, TODOR.

TODOROVSKI, GANE (1929–). Famous poet, journalist, literary scholar, and historian. Todorovski is a professor of Macedonian and Croat **literature** at the University of **Skopje**, his birthplace. He has also been a member of the Macedonian Writers' Association since 1951 and served twice as its president (1969–1971; 1985–1986). Apart from numerous collections of poems and essays, Todorovski is also the author of several historical studies examining the life of **Krste Misirkov** and other figures of the period. In 1990, he was the first president of the **Movement for All-Macedonian Action**, from which the **IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** emerged. Todorovski is also famous for having coined the phrase “B-complex,” describing (post)Yugoslav Macedonia's ambivalent relationship with **Bulgaria**. *See also* RISTOVSKI, BLAŽE.

TOMALEVSKI, NAUM (1884–1930). Political activist from **Kruševo**, **Exarchist** teacher, journalist, and writer. Tomalevski's family house was the headquarters of the **Ilinden Uprising** in 1903. After 1919 he took part in the renewal of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** in **Sofia**. In addition, Tomalevski edited *Macedonia*, a newspaper published by the Macedonian Charitable Fraternities. He was murdered in 1930 because of his support of the **Protogerovist** wing in the IMRO. His brother, Georgi, was a renowned Bulgarian writer. *See* **BADEV, JORDAN; SPROSTRANOV, EVTIM**

TORBEŠI. Ethnoconfessional group in the Republic of Macedonia, **Albania**, and **Kosovo** numbering some 100,000 to 150,000 members. Other names, typically used by Christian Orthodox, include *Apovci* or *Poturi*. The *Torbeši* are Muslims who speak various Macedonian dialects. *Torbeš* villages form several clusters in the Reka region between **Debar** and **Gostivar**, near **Struga**, and southeast of **Skopje**. There are also *Torbeš* villages in the eastern parts of the republic. Macedonian ethnographers also include in the same group the Pomaks in **Pirin Macedonia**, east of the city of Goce Delčev, which is part of the Slavic Muslim populace of the Rhodope Massif in **Bulgaria** and **Greece**.

In the 1990s Slavic Muslims were targeted by nationalizing campaigns waged by both Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, and even Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) activists. Macedonian nationalists have alleged that the *Torbeši* are forcefully Albanianized through the local school system. However, *Torbeš* leaders such as Velija Ramkovski, owner of the popular A1 TV channel, adhere to the pro-Macedonian line. Meanwhile the *Torbeši* in Albania, in the Golo Brdo area, have been courted by Bulgaria, which subsidized various local associations. In 2006, the businessman Fijat Canovski, one of the richest Macedonian citizens, established a party that aimed at representing Slavic Muslims as a separate community. *See also* **ALBANIANS; ISLAM; TURKS**.

TOŠEV, PETŪR (PERE) (1865–1912). **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)** leader. A native of **Prilep**, Tošev studied in the Bulgarian High Schools in **Salonica**

and Plovdiv. He participated as a volunteer in the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885 and joined the IMARO in 1896, while an **Exarchist** teacher in Prilep. In the aftermath of the **Ilinden Uprising**, Tošev sided with the left-wing group around **Jane Sandanski**, **Gjorče Petrov**, and **Hristo Černošev**. He was killed in 1912 by local **Turks** from his native town. *See also* **FEDERALISTS**.

TRAJKOVSKI, BORIS (1956–2004). Prominent politician, the second president after independence (1999–2004). Trajkovski was born in the village of Murtino, **Strumica**, to a Methodist family. He graduated from **Skopje** University's Law Faculty in 1980 and worked as a legal officer at a construction company as well as in Skopje's Kisela Voda municipality in the mid-1990s. Trajkovski was promoted to deputy minister of foreign affairs after the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU)** victory at the 1998 elections. He gained popularity during the difficult months of the **Kosovo** crisis. In 1999 Trajkovski was chosen to be the IMRO-DPMNU candidate for the presidency. He won thanks to the support of the Albanian electorate deterred by the virulently nationalistic rhetoric of **Tito Petkovski**, the Social Democrat contender. During and after the 2001 conflict, Trajkovski emerged as one of the staunchest advocates of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement**, which resulted in recurrent clashes with hard-liner prime minister **Ljubčo Georgievski**. Trajkovski keenly promoted the integration of the Republic of Macedonia into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** and the **European Union**. He died in an airplane crash near the town of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 26 February 2004. A foundation named after Trajkovski has been active for the past few years in Skopje. *See also* **CRVENKOVSKI, BRANKO**; **GLIGOROV, KIRO**.

TUPURKOVSKI, VASIL "CILE" (1951–). High-profile Macedonian and Yugoslav politician. Tupurkovski was born in **Skopje** to a family from **Aegean Macedonia**. Having obtained a doctorate in international law, he headed the Yugoslav Youth Union and later represented the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the last collective presidency of **Yugoslavia**. Coming back to Skopje in the early 1990s, Tupurkovski was a special envoy of president **Kiro Gligorov**

in charge of lobbying the international community over the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

Tupurkovski founded the **Democratic Alternative** party and in 1998–1999 served as economy minister in the government of **Ljubčo Georgievski**. It was on his initiative that Macedonia recognized Taiwan, which resulted in the Chinese veto canceling the continuation of the **United Nations Preventive Deployment Force** in Macedonia. In 2007, charges were brought against him for embezzling credits received from Taiwan in 1999. *See also* KLIMOVSKI, SAVO.

TURKS (MACEDONIAN, *TURCI*; TURKISH, *TÜRKLER*). The 2002 census sets the number of Macedonian Turks at 77,859, which is 3.9 percent of the country's population. They are concentrated in western Macedonia (e.g., in the Turkish-majority municipality of Župa Centar), the capital **Skopje**, and some areas in the east. This relative share has steadily decreased since the **Balkan Wars** as a result of emigration to Turkey and low birthrates, though the fall was not as sharp as in either Greek or Bulgarian Macedonia.

The Turkic tribes of Pechenegs, Kumans, and Vardariots arrived as early as the 10th and 11th centuries. The **Ottoman** conquest in the late 14th century led to an influx of settlers from Anatolia (*see* YÜR-ÜKS). Common politico-religious identity contributed to widespread Turkification of Albanian and Slavic Muslims moving into urban centers. The knowledge of Turkish was considered a sign of social distinction. It was commonly used as a public means of communication among Muslims until the 1950s. As elsewhere in the Balkans, Macedonian Turks clung longer to their traditional Islamic identity, detached from the influence of the Kemalist reforms in Turkey.

In the 1953 census, more than 27,000 **Albanians** registered themselves as Turks, partly because of the prospect of emigrating to Turkey and partly due to the poor relations between **Yugoslavia** and **Albania** following the **Cominform** split. In 1969, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed an agreement whereby Belgrade compensated the Muslim emigrants of the 1950s and 1960s for the property they had left behind.

The 1974 **constitution** defined Macedonia as a “state of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities.” The reference was removed in 1989. The postindependence 1991 consti-

tution lists Turks as one of the recognized ethnic communities in the republic. The Democratic Party of Turks in Macedonia (*Makedonya Türk Demokratik Partisi*) was established in July 1992 to represent the community. Since the 1990s, links with Turkey have grown stronger due to the rise in trade and tourism as well as the good relations at the state-to-state level. There have been a handful of eminent Turkish figures involved in Macedonia's public life since independence, including Güner Ismail, a former minister, intellectual, and policy analyst, and Erol Rizaov, editor-in-chief of *Utrinski vesnik* (Morning Herald), a leading daily. *See also* ISLAM; LANGUAGES.

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UNITED MACEDONIAN ORGANIZATION “ILINDEN” (OBE-DINETA MAKEDONSKA ORGANIZACIJA “ILINDEN”). Organization representing the Macedonian minority in **Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia)**. The UMO “Ilinden” was established in November 1989 with Jordan Kostadinov as a leader. The UMO's first appearance was in April 1990 on the anniversary of **Jane Sandanski's** murder at the Rožen monastery near Melnik. The organization accused authorities in Bulgaria and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies** of obstructing its efforts to promote the rights of the Pirin population, with its rallies often banned. While it is hard to assess the organization's popularity, it has remained largely a fringe group in the region. About 6,000 out of 187,000 inhabitants of the Blagoevgrad district registered as Macedonian at the 1992 census, falling to 3,100 in 2001. The organization's support among the descendants of **Vardar** and **Aegean Macedonia** refugees in other parts of the country has also been negligible.

In 1999 one of the factions, led by Ivan Singartijski, Stojko Stojkov, and Botjo Vangelov, registered a political party, but the Bulgarian Constitutional Court ruled the latter as unconstitutional on grounds of inciting separatism. The judgment has been criticized as biased. The UMO “Ilinden” successfully sued the Bulgarian government before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg on

three occasions over violations of the rights of free association and public assembly. *See also* RAINBOW PARTY.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). Global organization founded in 1945. Membership in the UN is considered a key step in ensuring recognition as an independent state. In 1992–1993, Macedonia's entry was blocked by **Greece**, objecting to the country's choice of name and national symbols. It was not until 7 April 1993 that the UN Security Council adopted Resolution S817/1993, approving Macedonia's accession under the provisional name Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In recognition of Greek grievances, Skopje was not allowed to hoist its **flag**.

The UN was also particularly concerned about stability in this part of former **Yugoslavia**. In December 1992, the Security Council resolved to deploy a conflict-monitoring mission (*see* UNITED NATIONS PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT FORCE). During that period Macedonia had to apply the UN-imposed sanctions against rump Yugoslavia, then under the rule of Slobodan Milošević, which cost its economy dearly and fueled the growth of illegal trafficking (*see* SERBIA).

Although the UN gradually transferred its peacekeeping duties to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, it continued playing a leading role in the efforts to find a solution to the dispute between Athens and Skopje. The UN mediator Matthew Nimetz was involved in the conclusion of the **Interim Accord** of September 1995, normalizing bilateral relations. Rounds of negotiations on the “naming issue” under UN auspices have continued ever since. Meanwhile, the number of states on the UN General Assembly recognizing “the Republic of Macedonia” has grown at a steady rate, reaching 117 (61 percent of the organization's total membership in late 2007). In March 2008, the UN passed the mediation mandate to the **United States** State Department. *See also* EUROPEAN UNION.

UNITED NATIONS PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT FORCE (UNPREDEP). Conflict-monitoring mission deployed by the **United Nations (UN)** in the Republic of Macedonia from 1995 to 1999. The UNPREDEP succeeded a contingent that operated since December 1992 as a part of the United Nations Protection Force, the interna-

tional peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In June 1993, Macedonia welcomed 300 **United States** troops with combat equipment stationed along its northern and western borders to prevent a spillover of the conflict in former **Yugoslavia**. By 1994, the United States contributed nearly half of a 1,100-strong mission. Other major contributors included Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The UNPRE-DEP mandate was extended on several occasions by the UN Security Council but was terminated in February 1999 because of a Chinese veto. At this point, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** stepped in to safeguard Macedonia's security. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

UNITED STATES. The United States has been a key foreign partner of Macedonia since the early 1990s. Washington made a significant contribution to the **United Nations Preventive Deployment Force** and stabilizing the country. It recognized Macedonia (as **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**) on 8 February 1994 and established full diplomatic relations in September 1995, following the signing of the **Interim Accord** with **Greece**. Washington consistently sought a mediating role in the bilateral dispute. The Interim Accord was accomplished thanks to the efforts of Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state. In the period 1990–2004, the United States also granted Macedonia financial aid worth \$320 million. Beyond the concern over Balkan stability, this policy was partly driven by the lobbying efforts of the Macedonian American communities whose roots go back to the early 20th century (*see* EMIGRATION AND DIASPORA).

Macedonia acted as a U.S. ally during the conflict in **Kosovo** in 1998–1999. Successive governments also pursued membership in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Macedonia sent troops to the NATO mission in Afghanistan as well as to Iraq. Skopje has been active in the Partnership for Peace, and in 2003 it cofounded the Adriatic Charter, a pro-U.S. grouping involving also **Albania** and Croatia. In consequence, the George W. Bush administration has been very supportive of Skopje's bid to join NATO.

The U.S. diplomacy invested a great deal of effort in the resolution of the 2001 armed conflict between the **Skopje** government and the ethnic Albanian **National Liberation Army**. Its envoy James Pardew was one of the international mediators who brokered the **Ohrid**

Framework Agreement. The United States also facilitated the implementation stage. In November 2004, it officially recognized the state's constitutional name of Macedonia in order to forestall a referendum seeking to block the Law on Territorial Organization. Following the Greek veto preventing Macedonia from obtaining a NATO invitation, in April 2008 Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice offered Skopje a special bilateral agreement aimed at bolstering the country's security at a time when the Kosovo issue was sending shock waves across the region. *See also* EUROPEAN UNION.

URBANIZATION. An overwhelmingly rural region until the mid-20th century, Macedonia had few urban centers of more than local significance, bar **Salonica**. During antiquity, settlements such as Stobi or Heraclea Lyncestis (near **Bitola**) thrived but suffered extensively during the barbarian invasions between the 4th and the 7th centuries. Later, **Skopje** and **Ohrid** established themselves as cultural, commercial, and administrative hubs while Byzantines, Bulgars, and Serbs vied for the control of the **Vardar** valley. As elsewhere in the Balkans, urban life in modern Macedonia was greatly impacted by the society, economy, and culture of the **Ottoman Empire**. After the conquest, towns acquired Muslim majorities due to settlement of military personnel, craftsmen, merchants, and through conversion. The most important public spaces reflected norms and daily practices embedded in **Islam**: mosques, *hans* (inns), *imarets* (charitable kitchens), *hamams* (baths), *tekkes* (Dervish lodges), and *bezestens* (covered bazaars) (*see* ISLAM). Most towns, however, were little more than market centers for the produce of the neighboring villages. Commercial activities took place in the *çarşi* (or *çaršija* in South Slavic languages) populated by various guilds (*esnafs*) of traders and craftsmen. *Esnafs* were divided by religious affiliation, though some of them had both Muslim and Christian Orthodox members. Typically the various religious groups resided in separate quarters, enjoying a measure of self-rule. The relative growth between the 15th and the end of the 17th centuries, documented by famous Ottoman travelers such as Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682), was disrupted by a period of wars and social unrest. In the 18th century, the population of Skopje, burnt by the Habsburg forces in 1689, shrank from 30,000 to 10,000 (*see* PICCOLOMINI, ENEO).

The **Tanzimat** period, from the 1830s onward ushered in a new time of growth. Towns like **Strumica** or **Štip** grew fourfold over the course of the 19th century. Still, by 1898 they had 9,000 and 21,000 inhabitants respectively. The relative share of non-Muslims rose, and they became a relative majority in some of the secondary centers like **Veles**, **Štip**, **Ohrid**, and **Strumica**. Encouraged by the reforms and newly acquired wealth, Orthodox communities started erecting larger churches such as St. Panteleimon in **Veles** dating from 1840. Other landmark features included the clock towers, such as the one in **Prilep** (1858), constructed by the Ottoman authorities across the empire. National upheavals led to the construction of new school buildings (*see* EDUCATION). Last but not least, railways improved connections with imperial centers and foreign markets. **Skopje** and **Salonica** were linked in 1873, and the line was soon extended to **Mitrovica** in **Kosovo**. In 1888 the railway passing through the **Vardar** valley was connected with the Serbian system and thence with Austria-Hungary. Six years later, it was possible to travel by train between **Salonica** and **Bitola**. Railways helped transform town life by bringing in with them Western influences, ideas, and lifestyles.

The end of Ottoman rule in **Vardar Macedonia** had important repercussions on town life. The exodus of Muslims further changed the profile of the population. Inclusion into **Serbia** and later **Yugoslavia** came hand in hand with the settlement of officers, bureaucrats, tradesmen, and workers from the north. Larger towns like **Skopje** saw the construction of new buildings, both public and private, reflecting fashionable European architectural styles. The significance of **Skopje** rose considerably at the expense of **Bitola** as the new border with **Greece** cut off the region from **Salonica**, its former economic and social capital.

Urbanization took off only after **World War II**, spurred by socialist industrialization. The share of city dwellers rose from less than one-quarter to 53.9 percent in 1981 and further up to 59.8 percent in 1994. Rural-urban migration affected Slavic Macedonians to a greater degree as compared to the other ethnic communities of **Albanians** or **Turks**. Lured by industrial and administrative jobs, most newcomers maintained their connections with the rural areas. The rate of continued land ownership in the original villages was high. As elsewhere in Yugoslavia and communist Europe, second homes/

villas in rural areas (known as *vikendici*, i.e., weekend houses) were common. Same-village networks extended into the metropolitan areas, providing a key social safety net in conditions of high unemployment.

In addition, socialism exerted a great deal of influence on urban planning with the advent of concrete housing estates and industrial enterprises in the peripheries of big cities and the (partial) reshaping of city centers to allow in a wide variety of new administrative, commercial, and public buildings. Still, the old quarters in many Yugoslav Macedonian cities, such as Skopje, Bitola, **Tetovo**, or Prilep, preserved the distinct flavor of the late Ottoman period, the hallmark of principal tourist destinations such as Ohrid.

After the early 1990s many towns suffered extensively from the decline in the republic's economy. The transition has brought a deterioration of public infrastructure, illegal construction, the collapse of key enterprises, and privatization of municipal property, often marred by corruption. Similarly to the socialist period, Skopje has continued to be the principal urban center. As Albanians have acquired a growing prominence in the country's politics and society since independence, Tetovo has become the unofficial capital of the community and an urban center of rising significance. *See also* ECONOMY; GOSTIVAR; KIČEVO; KUMANOVO; ŠTIP; STRUGA; STRUMICA.

UZUNOV, HRISTO (1878–1905). Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) activist from Ohrid. After graduating from the Bulgarian High School in **Salonica**, Uzunov worked as an **Exarchist** teacher. An IMARO member since 1896, he was one of the leaders of the **Ilinden Uprising** in the Ohrid district. Uzunov committed suicide in 1905 in the village of Cer (**Kičevo**), surrounded by **Ottoman** gendarmerie. Similar to several other figures such as his fellow townsman **Metodi Patčev**, Uzunov was celebrated by the IMARO as a martyr of the cause. *See also* DAVIDOV, TOMA; DIMITROV, DEJAN; RAZVIGOROV, MIŠE.

UZUNOVSKI, CVETKO “ABAZ” (1916–1994). Leading Macedonian communist from the village of Carev Dvor near Resen. Uzunovski joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1934 and took

part in the Spanish Civil War. After September 1941 he was in charge, together with **Mihajlo Apostolski**, of the **partisan** units in **Vardar Macedonia**. Loyal to **Josip Broz Tito**, Uzunovski was appointed to the Provincial Committee and, later, to the Central Committee of the newly established **Communist Party of Macedonia**. He also sat on the presidium of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia**. As a high-ranking operative of the **OZNA** after 1944, Uzunovski took part in repressions against opponents of the communist regime. Between 1946 and 1953, he was also the republican minister of interior, and later served in various top positions in the Yugoslav State Secretariat for Internal Affairs. *See also* IVANOVSKI, PETAR; MILJOVSKI, KIRIL; VUKMANOVIĆ-TEMPO, SVETOZAR.

– V –

VAPCAROV, NIKOLA JONKOV (1909–1942). Eminent poet and communist activist. Vapcarov was born in the town of Bansko, **Pirin Macedonia**. His father, Jonko, was a local notable and **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** headman. In the 1920s, Vapcarov studied at the naval school in the Black Sea port of Varna. He started publishing poems after moving to **Sofia** in 1936 and released his only collection, *Motorni pesni* (Motoring Verses), four years later. Vapcarov was also active in the local **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** structures. Though he wrote his poems in standard Bulgarian, he was a cofounder of the **Macedonian Literary Circle**, which promoted the party line in favor of a separate Macedonian ethnic nation. He befriended **Venko Markovski**, **Kole Nedelkovski**, and **Dimitar Mitrev**, all of whom were to become esteemed names in the literary canon of post-**World War II** Yugoslav Macedonia.

After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Vapcarov was part of the communist resistance and headed the military commission at the BCP's Central Committee. He was apprehended by the police and sentenced to death in 1942. Vapcarov's oeuvre is considered to be one of the finest examples of 20th-century Bulgar-

ian poetry. Similarly, he is an esteemed figure in the Republic of Macedonia.

VARDAR (GREEK, *AXIOS* OR *VARDARIS*). River flowing through the Republic of Macedonia and northern **Greece**. Starting from the village of Vrutok, near **Gostivar**, Vardar is 388 kilometers long and drains an area of 25,000 square kilometers. It passes through the cities of Gostivar, **Skopje**, **Veles**, and Gevgelija, thereafter entering Greek territory and reaching the Aegean west of **Salonica**.

VARDAR BANATE (*VARDARSKA BANOVINA*). Administrative unit in interwar **Yugoslavia** in the period 1929–1941. The Vardar Banovina was instituted by King **Aleksandar Karadjordjević** after he suspended the 1921 Constitution. The reform aimed at strengthening the central state control by crushing or diluting regional and ethnic particularisms. At the time, Slavic Macedonians were commonly called South Serbians (*Južnosrbijanci*). With **Skopje** as a capital, the district included **Vardar Macedonia** along with districts in **Kosovo** and southern **Serbia** (the Morava region), including towns like Prishtina, Prizren, Vranje, and Leskovac. The regional governor (*ban*) was housed in the so-called *Banska palata*, completed in 1938 by the Czech architect Viktor Hudák, which is the seat of present-day Macedonia's national parliament and presidency.

VARDAR MACEDONIA. Section of geographic Macedonia conquered by **Serbia** in the **Balkan Wars** in 1912–1913 that forms the basis of the present-day Republic of Macedonia. It takes its name from the **Vardar** River flowing from northwest to southeast and bisecting the region. Vardar Macedonia also includes the districts of **Strumica** ceded by **Bulgaria** under the **Neuilly Treaty** of 1919 and the **St. Naum** Monastery, which was part of **Albania** until 1926. The northern borders of Vardar have been fluid and open to contestation. Several enclaves in the northeast, notably the historic St. Prohor of Pčinja (Prohor Pčinski) monastery, were transferred to **Serbia** after **World War II**. Similarly, the Kačanik Gorge, once considered part of Vardar Macedonia, was included in the autonomous region of **Kosovo**. Both the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** in the interwar period and early socialist **Yugoslavia** envisioned

Vardar Macedonia as a building block toward a unified Macedonian state encompassing also **Aegean** and **Pirin Macedonia**.

VELES. Town in central Macedonia situated alongside the banks of the **Vardar** River. The location is reflected in Veles' Turkish name, *Küprülü*, roughly translatable as "bridge-place." The 2002 census indicates that the town's population is 43,716, 92 percent of whom are Macedonians. There are, in addition, small **Turk** and **Roma** communities. The larger municipality is inhabited by some 55,108 people. Between 1946 and 1991, Veles' official name was "Titov Veles" (**Tito**'s Veles). During the socialist period Veles was heavily industrialized, but in the 1990s most enterprises were closed, leaving behind serious environmental problems. *See also* ECONOMY; URBANIZATION.

VIDOESKI, BOŽIDAR (BOŽO) (1920–1998). Distinguished Macedonian linguist from Zvečan (**Poreče**). There are indications that in the 1940s Vidoeski participated in the pro-Serb *cetnik* movement operating in areas of **Vardar Macedonia**. After 1949, Vidoeski authored a number of articles and monographs on Macedonian dialectology and comparative Slavic philology. He headed the research project producing the atlas of Macedonian dialects. Vidoeski was elected to the **Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts** in 1974. *See also* KEPESKI, KRUME.

VILÂYET. An **Ottoman** administrative division instituted with the 1864 reform abolishing the larger *eyalets*. Each *vilâyet* was headed by a centrally appointed governor (*vali*). From the mid-19th century onward, geographic Macedonia was considered to include the whole of the **Salonica vilâyet**, most of the Manastir (**Bitola**) *vilâyet*, and substantial parts of the **Kosovo vilâyet** governed from **Skopje**.

VLACHS (AROMANIANS, CINCARS; MACEDONIAN, VLASI; VLACH, ARMÂNJI). An ethnic group speaking a Romance language closely related to Romanian and especially to Megleno-Romanian, a minuscule dialect once present in the central parts of present-day Greek Macedonia. Vlachs are considered descendants of the Romanized indigenous population, preserving its linguistic sepa-

rateness in the mountains of the southern Balkans, including Pindus and Grammos. Today, most Vlachs are found in **Albania** and **Greece**. According to the 1994 census, there are 8,467 Vlachs in the Republic of Macedonia (0.4 percent of the overall population), while the one in 2002 recorded 9,695. Vlach associations claim that the number can be as much as 100,000, though the precise figure is hard to establish due to the high degree of assimilation.

Vlachs, also called Macedo-Romanians, played an important role in social and economic life throughout the region, accounting for a substantial section of the population in cities such as **Bitola**, **Kruševo**, Klisura, Serres, and Naoussa. Many came from Moscopole (Voskopoja, Moschopolis) in southern Albania, a major Vlach center destroyed by Ali Pasa of Yannina in 1788. Prior to the **Balkan Wars** Vlachs tended to side with the **Constantinople Patriarchate** and embrace Greek culture. Yet a significant segment opted for Romanian national identity, a process facilitated by the Vlach diaspora across southeast Europe. In 1905 Vlachs were recognized as a separate *millet* in the **Ottoman Empire**, which bolstered the networks of schools and cultural associations sponsored by Bucharest.

After the partition of Macedonia in 1913, many Hellenized Vlachs, especially those from big urban centers, settled in Greek territory. Others migrated in the 1920s to the ethnically mixed province of Dobrudža (Dobrogea) in southeastern Romania, where they were granted land and other incentives by the government. It is estimated that up to one-quarter of the population in the parts of the province that remained in Romania after 1940 consists of the descendants of the Vlach settlers (known locally as *Macedoneni*). Famous Macedonian Vlachs include **Lazar Koliševski**, **Hari Kostov**, **Toše Proeski**, and the **Manaki** brothers. *See also* CAPIDAN, THEODOR; GULI, PITU; KOSTOV, HARI; LANGUAGES; WEIGAND, GUSTAV LUDWIG.

VLAHOV, DIMITAR (1878–1952). Prominent **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** figure, communist functionary, and Yugoslav official. Born in Kukuš, Vlahov was elected in 1908 a member of the **Ottoman** parliament on the ticket of the People's Federative Party and was reelected in 1912, together with Hristo Dalčev, father of the celebrated Bulgarian poet

Atanas Dalčev (*see* FEDERALISTS). He later joined the Bulgarian diplomatic service and worked as a consul in Odessa in 1914–1915 and after 1916 as governor of the Prishtina district in **Kosovo**, then under Bulgarian occupation.

As a commercial attaché at the Bulgarian Embassy in Vienna in the 1920s, Vlahov acted as personal representative of **Todor Aleksandrov** in the negotiations with the Comintern leading to the **May Manifesto** of 1924. He remained loyal to the Comintern, joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party**, and in 1925 founded the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United) (IMRO-U)**. Vlahov edited the IMRO-U publications such as *Fédération Balkanique* and *Makedonsko delo* (Macedonian Cause) until 1932, becoming an emblematic persona in the Macedonian left. Though in the 1920s Vlahov, as well as the IMRO-U as a whole, still defined the Slavs of Macedonia as Bulgarians, by the 1930s his views had evolved in support of a separate Macedonian ethnic nation that he saw, faithful to the Marxist theories on nationhood, as a product of the advent of capitalism to Macedonia in the 19th century rather than a primordial fact (*see* MACEDONIAN QUESTION).

Vlahov spent the period between 1936 and 1944 in Moscow, but as one of the most senior Macedonian communist leaders, he was included by default into the **Antifascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia** presidium. Upon his arrival in **Skopje** in 1944 he was made deputy chairman of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** and later of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, though his political influence was rather limited. Vlahov's memoirs were published in Skopje in 1970. His son, Gustav Vlahov (1912–1991), worked as a secretary to **Josip Broz Tito**, deputy foreign minister and a Yugoslav ambassador. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF MACEDONIA; KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR; ŠATEV, PAVEL.

VUKMANOVIĆ, SVETOZAR "TEMPO" (1912–2000). Yugoslav communist functionary, prominent **partisan** commander, and statesman. Born in the village of Podgora, near Cetinje in Montenegro, Tempo joined the **Communist Party of Yugoslavia** in 1935 as a law student in **Belgrade**. In 1940 he joined the Central Committee, and after the Nazi invasion in 1941 was included in the headquarters of

the communist resistance forces. In February 1943, **Josip Broz Tito** dispatched Tempo to **Vardar Macedonia** as a personal envoy tasked with strengthening the communist resistance, which was considerably weaker compared to other parts of the prewar kingdom. Tempo excelled as an organizer. He worked for the establishment of coordination structures bringing together Yugoslav, Bulgarian, Greek, and Albanian communists.

Tempo was among the key personalities involved in the constitution of the **Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia** but during its sessions clashed with the faction around **Metodija Andonov-Čento**, which had autonomist leanings. Tempo's name is also linked with the suppression of the revolt in **Skopje** and **Štip** in December 1944, when Macedonian recruits refused to fight on the Srem front in Vojvodina.

Between 1945 and 1970 Tempo served in various top party and government positions. His memoirs written in the 1970s and early 1980s dealt, in part, with his activities in Macedonia. For that, he was fiercely attacked not only by Bulgarian communist veteran Cola Dragojčeva in her own memoirs, but also by **Vera Aceva**, who accused him of downplaying the contribution of the Macedonian communists in the resistance movement. *See also* KOLIŠEVSKI, LAZAR; RADOSLAVLJEVIĆ, RADIVOJE; SMILEVSKI, VIDOE; UZUNOVSKI, CVETKO.

– W –

WEIGAND, GUSTAV LUDWIG (1860–1930). Renowned German scholar, specialist in Balkan linguistics and ethnography. Based at the University of Leipzig, Weigand made a significant contribution to the study of the Romance-speaking groups south of the Danube (*see* VLACHS). He also researched the links between the southern Slavic, Albanian, and Vlach dialects in the context of the Balkan *Sp-rachbund* (Linguistic Union) (*see* LANGUAGE). In 1924, Weigand published *Ethnographie Makedoniens* (The Ethnography of Macedonia), a survey of the ethnic groups inhabiting the region. He was a member of the Romanian and the Bulgarian academies of sciences and was also affiliated with the **Macedonian Scientific Institute** in

Sofia. *See also* CAPIDAN, THEODOR; CVIJIC, JOVAN; KUNČOV, VASIL.

WOMEN. In Macedonia, which was until the latter half of the 20th century an overwhelmingly rural country, women's traditional roles were confined to the household. Women had important functions as a workforce in agriculture. In areas where long-distance labor migration was common, like southwestern Macedonia, married women headed the family. Women played a role in communicating traditional identities to children. The writer **Henry Noel Brailsford** recorded how **Vlach** women kept their native **language** alive by passing it on to the next generation.

The gradual changes in social life from the mid-19th century onward had important effects on women. In urban settlements the spread of **education** led to an increase in female literacy. As a result women were involved in the various nationalist movements taking root in Macedonia (*see* BUNEVA, MARA; KURNICEVA, MENČA). Women were also disproportionately affected by major upheavals in the first half of the 20th century, such as military conflicts (the **Balkan Wars**, **World War I**), rural violence (e.g., in the aftermath of the **Ilinden Uprising**), forceful displacement, and **emigration**. Starting from the 1930s, women were active in the communist party. Activists such as **Vera Aceva** and **Mara Naceva** were involved in the **partisan movement** during **World War II**, a topic studied by the historian Vera Vesković-Vangeli, and were among the local communist leaders. Typically those activists had higher education (often at the **Belgrade** University) or hailed from the minuscule Macedonian working class.

Socialist modernization advanced the emancipation of women and promoted gender equality. As in other communist countries, this was achieved through inclusion in the industrial workforce and public life through organizations such as the Conference for the Social Activity of Women. Legislation on divorce and abortion was liberalized. By the 1970s women accounted for 40 percent of university students and 34 percent of the labor force in **Yugoslavia**. However, women remained underrepresented in the party hierarchy, the administration, and the **economy**. The modernization campaign had a more limited effect on ethnic communities such as the Macedonian **Albanians**,

Turks, or Roma. Illiteracy among Albanian women in the 1970s was twice as high compared to Slavic Macedonians. In the early 1990s Albanians had a birthrate of 29 per 1,000 compared to 17 per 1,000 for the Slavic Macedonians. Furthermore, traditional norms of kinship remained strong, and there was only a partial transition to a nuclear-family model. The national ideology promoted by the state in Yugoslav Macedonia was also centered on grand male figures, thereby marginalizing the experience of women.

From the early 1990s onward, women were disproportionately affected by the postcommunist transition associated with mass unemployment, rising inequalities, the abandonment of the equality-promotion policies of the Titoist era, and the return to social conservatism. Public life in postindependence Macedonia is dominated by men, with a few notable exceptions such as **Radmila Šekerinska, Ilinka Mitreva, Teuta Arifi, Dosta Dimovska, and Liljana Popovska.** *See also* URBANIZATION.

WORLD MACEDONIAN CONGRESS. Organization established in September 1990 by nationalist activists from Macedonia and the **di-aspóra**. Headed by Todor Petrov, the World Macedonian Congress came into the spotlight in 2004, when it initiated a signature-collection campaign leading to a national referendum against the law on territorial organization. The referendum held on 7 November failed due to a low turnout. The law changing the percentage of **Albanians** in the greater **Skopje** municipality, in **Struga**, and in several other localities was promulgated and came into effect. *See also* OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT.

WORLD WAR I. Military conflict waged from 1914 to 1918 between the Central Powers (the German Reich, the Austro-Hungarian and the **Ottoman Empires**) and the Entente (France, Russia, Great Britain, after 1915, Italy, and finally the **United States**, which joined the conflict in 1917). The war broke out after Austria-Hungary attacked **Serbia** in the summer of 1914. **Bulgaria** joined in October 1915 and helped to overcome the Serbian resistance, which had hitherto thwarted several Austro-Hungarian offensives. Landing at **Salonica**, France and Britain established the so-called Macedonian Front spanning over 380 kilometers from the Gulf of Orphano to the Mokra

Mountain in **Albania**. The French also transported the Serbian army from the island of Corfu. The combined forces were also joined by Greek troops loyal to prime minister Elefterios Venizelos; Italian and Russian units, including remnants of the so-called Czech Legion; and recruits from the French colonial empire.

Major battles include the River Crna bend and **Bitola** (October–November 1916), Dojran (August 1916, February 1917, and September 1918), and Dobro Pole (September 1918), which resulted in the Allied breakthrough into the **Vardar** valley and the capitulation of Bulgaria. The hostilities had a devastating effect on the southern districts of **Vardar Macedonia**, leading to loss of civilian lives and material destruction in areas such as the city of Bitola and its environs.

Many Slavic Macedonians were recruited in the Bulgarian army, often under the command of native officers such as Colonel **Boris Drangov** or the generals **Aleksandŭr Protogerov** and Kliment Bojadžiev, both coming from **Ohrid**. Others served in the Serbian army. The defeat of Bulgaria in World War I consolidated the Belgrade's domination of Vardar Macedonia, which became part of the interwar Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia**). *See also* BALKAN WARS; NEUILLY, TREATY OF; WORLD WAR II.

WORLD WAR II. Global military conflict sparked by the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany in September 1939 and ended in September 1945 with the defeat of Japan by the forces of the anti-Axis Alliance comprising the Soviet Union, the **United States**, Great Britain, and France. The war reached Macedonia in the night of 5–6 April 1941, when German troops invaded **Yugoslavia** from their bases in Romania and Bulgaria, both of which had joined the Axis. The objective of Operation Marita was to occupy **Greece**, which was successfully fighting Germany's ally Italy in southern Albania. On 7 April, **Skopje** became the first major Yugoslav town to be captured. In a matter of days, the German panzer divisions occupied Yugoslav Macedonia, entering **Salonica** on 9 April. Nine days later Yugoslavia capitulated.

In the wake of the campaign, in May, Yugoslav Macedonia was annexed by **Bulgaria**, which sent troops, police, and civil administrators to the area (*see* BULGARIAN ACTION COMMITTEES). On 29 June, Italy took over the western districts of **Tetovo**, **Gostivar**,

Debar, Struga, and Kičevo and merged them with its protectorate **Albania**. These areas were transferred to German military control in September 1943 as Italy capitulated to the Anglo-Americans. As they arrived in the region on 24 April, the Bulgarian military and administrative authorities were initially welcomed by the local populace. Unlike in other parts of Yugoslavia or even Greek Macedonia, there was no significant resistance movement, whether communist or right wing, up until the autumn of 1943. The civilian victims of the occupation include mainly the 7,148 **Jews** deported to the death camp of Treblinka in March 1943 as well as the Slavic and Albanian peasants killed in communal strife in the western regions where the **partisans** clashed with the **Balli Kombëtar** and other **Albanian** nationalist groups (*see* GOSTIVARI, XHEM). Other paramilitary units included the pro-Serb **četniks** loyal to General Dragoljub “Draža” Mihajlović in **Poreče, Azot**, and the mountains of Kozjak and Skopska Crna Gora in the north and the counterinsurgent bands organized by the Bulgarian gendarmerie to fight the partisans, which employed former members of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**. Yugoslav Macedonian historians have accused the Bulgarian forces of a number of atrocities, such as the massacre of 16 civilians at the village of Vataša in June 1943. By contrast, their Bulgarian colleagues maintain that the relations with the local population were far from hostile despite the gradual disenchantment with Bulgarian rule.

The state of affairs in Macedonia changed dramatically with the arrival of the Soviet troops in the Balkans in August 1944. Local communists established the **Antifascist Assembly of the People’s Liberation of Macedonia**, which proclaimed the creation of a Macedonian republic within new federal Yugoslavia. Bulgarian troops started withdrawing from the region on 2 September as the new pro-Western government of Konstantin Muraviev declared war on Germany six days later. Meanwhile, the Red Army’s Third Ukrainian Front entered Bulgaria and a communist-dominated administration was installed in **Sofia**. On 28 September the latter signed an armistice with the allies, including **Josip Broz Tito**’s partisans. At that moment, Soviet troops moved into Yugoslav territory supported by Bulgaria’s First and Second Armies. The German forces in Greece had to march north to avoid being cut off. On 13 November, Yugoslav

partisans, followed by Bulgarian army units, entered Skopje, which had been abandoned by the Germans. Belgrade was taken a week later. Macedonian partisans and recruits were part of the Yugoslav army fighting the *Wehrmacht* in the Battle of Srem (October 1944–April 1945). *See also* WORLD WAR I.

– X –

XHAFERI, ARBEN (1948–). Macedonian Albanian politician born in **Tetovo**. After studies in **Belgrade**, Xhaferi worked at the regional television station in Prishtina, **Kosovo**. In 1990, he was elected to the Macedonian parliament from the **Party for Democratic Prosperity**. Four years later, Xhaferi split to found the **Democratic Party of Albanians**, which he presided over until 2007. He was deputy prime minister from 1998 to 2002. He was one of the signatories of the **Ohrid Framework Agreement** in August 2001. *See also* SELMANI, IMER; THAÇI, MENDUH.

– Y –

YOUNG MACEDONIAN LITERARY COMPANY (MLADA MAKEDONSKA KNIŽOVNA DRUŽINA). A group of activists from Macedonia based in **Sofia**. Active from 1892 to 1994, the group included **Evtim Sprostranov**, **Andrej Ljapčev**, **Toma Karajovov**, and **Petūr Poparsov**. All of them were later involved in the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization**. The group published the *Loza* (Grapevine) magazine, which Yugoslav Macedonian historians have identified as an early platform of Macedonian linguistic separatism. Though *Loza* adhered to the Bulgarian position on the issue of the Macedonian Slavs' ethnicity, it also favored revising the Bulgarian orthography by bringing it closer to the dialects spoken in Macedonia. The publication was banned by **Stefan Stambolov** as the contributing authors supported the opposition against his government. *See also* MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE.

YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION. Military coup ending Sultan Abdülhamid II's authoritarian regime and restoring the **Ottoman** Constitu-

tion of 1878. The revolution started in Macedonia with the garrison in Resen marching out of the town in July 1908. The Third Army Corps stationed in Macedonia advanced toward Istanbul, forcing the sultan to accept the demands for political change. The revolution was driven by the so-called **Committee of Union and Progress** (gaining popularity as “Young Turks”), an underground society of radical officers, many of them Macedonian **Turks** and **Albanians**. It aimed at Westernizing the empire in order to preserve its power. One of them was the future founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

The Young Turk Revolution was supported by the **Internal Macedono-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**, which was legalized by the new regime. Leaders like **Jane Sandanski** cultivated close links with the Young Turks, contributing to the expeditionary force that defeated a 1909 coup by Hamidian loyalists in Istanbul. The Young Turks’ reformist agenda was seen as compatible with the IMARO’s aim of building up a multiethnic and multiconfessional autonomous entity in Macedonia and Thrace. Relations soured in 1910–1911 as the Young Turks embraced policies aimed at consolidating power and the IMARO, initially the centralist faction but later also Jane Sandanski’s followers as well, called their bands back to arms. *See also* TANZIMAT.

YUGOSLAVIA. State in southeast Europe from which the Republic of Macedonia emerged in 1991. Yugoslavia was established in the aftermath of **World War I** as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (*Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*) under the scepter of the Karadjordjević dynasty. Macedonian Slavs were considered part of the Serbian nation, while **Vardar Macedonia** was colonized by settlers from other parts of the common state. Still, the interwar Yugoslavia contributed to the modernization of the area, particularly **Skopje**, which gained in importance as a military, administrative, and economic center. Life in Yugoslavia shaped profoundly the experience and social identity of all 20th-century generations in Vardar Macedonia.

At the end of **World War II**, the communists transformed Yugoslavia into a federation of six republics, including Macedonia. The state, renamed in 1963 from Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (*Federativna narodna republika Jugoslavija*) into Socialist

Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (*Socialistička federativna republika Jugoslavija*), promoted the construction and consolidation of a **Macedonian language** and fostered the development of local cultural, political, and economic elites. It played a leading role in modernizing an overwhelmingly peasant society, notwithstanding the recurrent developmental difficulties encountered in the impoverished southern republic (*see also* ECONOMY; URBANIZATION; WOMEN).

Yugoslavia's demise followed the economic crisis of the 1980s, the growth of various nationalisms, and the rise to power of Slobodan Milošević in **Serbia**. Despite being generally pro-Yugoslav, Macedonian political elites opted for an independence referendum. The plebiscite was held on 8 September 1991, as war unfolded in the northern republics, and sanctioned Macedonia's secession. Still, economic and social links with the other parts of the former federation have continued to be strong, while the Yugoslav period is seen by many as a lost golden age. *See also* ANTIFASCIST COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA; COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA; KARADJORDJEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR; SERBIA; TITO, JOSIP BROZ.

YÜRÜKS (TURKISH, YÜRÜKLER OR YÖRÜKLER, LITERALLY "WALKERS"). Nomadic Turkic-speaking tribesmen who settled in the Balkans from Asia Minor in the 14th and 15th centuries. Many flocked into Macedonia and were instrumental in the **Ottoman** conquest. For example, the Yürük chief Paşa Yiğit was the first governor of **Skopje** following the city's capture in 1392. Until the Greek-Turkish exchange of populations there was a cluster of Yürük settlements around the city of Ptolemaïda (Turkish, *Kayılar*). At present, there are also about 20 Yürük villages in the eastern parts of the Republic of Macedonia, in the Plačkovica mountain near the town of Radoviš. *See also* TURKS.

– Z –

ŽINZIFOV, RAJKO (1839–1877). Educational and cultural activist from **Veles** born into a **Vlach** family originally from **Bitola**. Žinzifov

was a student of **Dimitri Miladinov**. Under the latter's influence he discarded his Greek name Xenophon and opted for the Slavic Rajko. From 1858 until his death, Žinzifov lived in Russia, where he published a number of poems, translations from various Slavic languages, as well as articles for the Bulgarian press in Istanbul, Bucharest, and Moscow. He is celebrated nowadays as one of the pioneering Macedonian/Bulgarian national awakeners of the period. *See also* HADŽIKONSTANTINOV, JORDAN; PŮRLIČEV, GRIGOR.

ŽIVKOV, TODOR (1911–1998). Bulgarian communist leader. Živkov rose to prominence in 1954 when he became the first secretary of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**'s Central Committee. He stayed in that position until November 1989 thanks to his good relations with successive Soviet leaders. It was under Živkov that the BCP gained its policy of fostering a Macedonian ethnic identity in **Pirin Macedonia** in 1963 and adopted a Bulgarian nationalist stance. In the 1970s and 1980s, this new orientation led to recurrent clashes with **Yugoslavia**. Another consequence was the rehabilitation of several pre-1944 Bulgarian nationalist historians, activists, and political figures, many of whom were anticommunists coming from Greek or Yugoslav Macedonia. The turn toward nationalism by the Bulgarian communist regime under Živkov peaked with the forceful Bulgarian-ization of the Turkish minority from 1984 to 1989. Živkov's fall from power in November 1989 led to the restoration of minority rights. However, there was no ethnic Macedonian revival in Pirin Macedonia as some observers expected in the early 1990s. *See also* DIMITROV, GEORGI.

ZOGRAFSKI, PARTENIJ (FATHER PARTHENIUS OF ZOGRA-PHOU) (1818–1876). Educator born as Pavle Trizlovski in Galicnik in **Reka**. After studies in **Salonica** and Istanbul, he became a monk at the Zografou Monastery in Mount Athos, where he adopted the name Partenij (Parthenius). Graduating from the Theological Academy in Kiev, Partenij was appointed in 1858 metropolitan of Kuku in order to resist the locals' pursuit of a union with the Catholic Church in defiance of the **Constantinople Patriarchate** (*see* RELIGION). In 1867 he became metropolitan of Niš and three years later joined the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. Skopje historians study Zograf-

ski's career chiefly because of his literary works published in western Macedonian vernaculars and consider him a leading representative of the "National Rebirth." Father Parthenij was in favor of using the latter as the basis for a standard Bulgarian language, which is interpreted by Yugoslav Macedonian literary scholars as a two-way Bulgaro-Macedonian compromise, not unlike the one achieved by Serbs and Croats with the 1850 Vienna Agreement. *See also* LITERATURE; MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE; ŠAPKAREV, KUZMAN.

Appendix A

Facts about the Republic of Macedonia

Area

Total: 25,333 sq km, *land:* 24,856 sq km, *water:* 477 sq km

Population

Total: 2,055,915 (July 2007 est.)

Ethnic groups: Macedonian 64.2 percent, Albanian 25.2 percent, Turkish 3.9 percent, Roma (Gypsy) 2.7 percent, Serb 1.8 percent, other 2.2 percent (2002 census). Ethnic data based on the censuses in former Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Macedonians</i>	<i>Albanians</i>	<i>Turks</i>	<i>Serbs</i>	<i>Roma</i>	<i>Other</i>
1953	1,304,464	860,699	162,524	203,938	35,111	20,412	21,780
1961	1,406,010	1,000,865	183,108	131,481	42,728	47,828	—
1971	1,647,308	1,142,375	279,871	108,552	46,465	24,505	45,540
1981	1,909,136	1,279,323	377,208	86,591	44,468	43,125	78,421
1994	1,934,354	1,295,264	441,214	78,014	40,228	43,207	36,427
2002	2,022,547	1,297,981	509,083	77,959	35,939	53,879	47,706

Religions: Macedonian Orthodox 64.7 percent, Muslim 33.3 percent, other Christian 0.37 percent, other and unspecified 1.63 percent (2002 census).

Languages: Macedonian 66.5 percent, Albanian 25.1 percent, Turkish 3.5 percent, Roma 1.9 percent, Serbian 1.2 percent, other 1.8 percent (2002 census).

Government and Politics

Type: Parliamentary democracy.

Branches: *Executive*—prime minister (head of government), council of ministers (cabinet), president (head of state). *Legislative*—unicameral parliament or Sobranie (120 members elected by popular vote to four-year terms from party lists based on the percentage parties gain of the overall vote in each of six election units). *Judicial*—Supreme Court, State Judicial Council, Constitutional Court, Public Prosecutor's Office, Public Attorney. Legal system is based on civil law; judicial review of legislative acts.

Suffrage: Universal at age 18.

Administrative structure: 85 municipalities (*opštini*); Aerodrom (Skopje), Aračinovo, Berovo, Bitola, Bogdanci, Bogovinje, Bosilovo, Brvenica, Butel (Skopje), Čair (Skopje), Čaška, Centar (Skopje), Centar Župa, Češinovo, Čučer-Sandevo, Debar, Debarca, Delčevo, Demir Hisar, Demir Kapija, Dojran, Dolneni, Drugovo, Gazi Baba (Skopje), Gevgelija, Gjorče Petrov (Skopje), Gostivar, Gradsko, Ilinden, Jegunovce, Karbinci, Karpoš (Skopje), Kavadarci, Kičevo, Kisela Voda (Skopje), Kočani, Konče, Kratovo, Kriva Palanka, Krivogaštani, Kruševo, Kumanovo, Lipkovo, Lozovo, Makedonska Kamenica, Makedonski Brod, Mavrovo i Rastuša, Mogila, Negotino, Novaci, Novo Selo, Ohrid, Oslomej, Pehčevo, Petrovec, Plašnica, Prilep, Probištip, Radoviš, Rankovce, Resen, Rosoman, Saraj (Skopje), Skopje, Sopište, Staro Nagoričane, Štip, Struga, Strumica, Studeničani, Šuto Orizari (Skopje), Sveti Nikole, Tearce, Tetovo, Valandovo, Vasilevo, Veles, Vevčani, Vinica, Vraneštica, Vrapčište, Zajas, Zelenikovo, Želino, Zrnovci. *Note:* The ten municipalities followed by Skopje in parentheses collectively constitute the larger Skopje Municipality.

Political Parties

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (*Vnatrešno-Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija-Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nacionalno Edinstvo*): 52 members of Parliament (MPs)

IMRO-DPMNU-led coalition

Total votes at the June 2008 elections: 481,501, 47.43 percent.

Socialist Party of Macedonia (*Socijalistička Partija na Makedonija*): 3 MPs; Democratic Union (*Demokratski sojuz*): 1 MP; Democratic Renewal of Macedonia (*Demokratska Obnova na Makedonija*): 1 MP; Democratic Party of Turks of

Macedonia (*Demokratska Partija na Turcite na Makedonija*): 1 MP; Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia (*Demokratska Partija na Srbite vo Makedonija*): 1 MP; Union of Roma in Macedonia (*Sojuz na Romite na Makedonija*): 1 MP; Bosniak Democratic Party (*Bošnjačka Demokratska Partija*): 1 MP; IMRO-Macedonian (*VMRO-Makedonska*): 1 MP; Party for Complete Emancipation of Roma (*Partija za Celosna Emancipacija na Romite*): 1 MP; United Party for Emancipation (*Obedineta Partija za Emancipacija*); Justice Party (*Partija na pravdata*); Party of Democratic Action of Macedonia (*Stranka na Demokratska Akcija na Makedonija*); Party of Vlachs of Macedonia (*Partija na Vlasite od Makedonija*); Party for the Integration of Roma (*Partija za integracija na Romite*); People's Movement for Macedonia (*Narodno Dviženje za Makedonija*); Party of the Greens (*Partija na Zelenite*); Democratic Union of Roma (*Demokratska Unija na Romite*); Workers and Farmers' Party of the Republic of Macedonia (*Rabotiničko-Zemjodelska Partija na Republika Makedonija*)

Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (*Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonija*): 18 MPs

SDAM-led coalition Sun (*Sonce*)

Total votes at the June 2008 elections: 233,284, 22.98 percent.

New Social Democratic Party (*Nova socijaldemokratska partija*): 3 MPs; Liberal Democratic Party (*Liberalno-Demokratska Partija*): 4 MPs; Liberal Party of Macedonia (*Liberalna Partija na Makedonija*): 1 MP; New Alternative (*Nova Alternativa*): 1 MP; Green Party of Macedonia (*Zelena Partija na Makedonija*); Party of the Pensioners of Republic of Macedonia (*Partija na penzionerite na Republika Makedonija*); Democratic Union of Vlachs from Macedonia (*Demokratski Sojuz na Vlasite od Makedonija*)

Democratic Union for Integration (*Bashkimi Demokratik për Integrim/Demokratska Unija za Integracija*): 18 MPs

Total votes at the June 2008 elections: 126,522, 12.46 percent.

Democratic Party of Albanians (*Partia Demokratike Shqiptare/Demokratska Partija na Albancite*): 11 MPs

Total votes at the June 2008 elections: 81,566 votes, 8.03 percent.

Party for European Future (*Partija za Evropska Idnina*): 1 MP

Total votes at the June 2008 elections: 14,474 votes, 1.43 percent.

Parties That Did Not Make It Past the Threshold

IMRO-Democratic Party: 2,335 (0.23 percent); Party for Democratic Prosperity: 7,216 (0.71 percent); National Democratic Union: 1,651 (0.16 percent); Democratic Union of Albanians: 6,484 (0.64 percent); Durable Macedonian Radical

Unification: 1,856 (0.18 percent); Radical Party of Serbs in Macedonia: 4,326 (0.43 percent); Movement for National Unity of Turks: 3,782 (0.37 percent); Fatherland Macedonian Organization for Radical Renewal Vardar-Egej-Pirin: 4,317 (0.43 percent); Social-Democratic Party of Macedonia: 6,406 (0.63 percent); Union of Tito's Left Forces: 3,758 (0.37 percent).

Economy

Gross domestic product: \$5.601 billion; at purchasing power parity: \$16.96 billion.

Gross domestic product per capita (purchasing power): \$8,300 (2006 est.).

Gross domestic product per sector: agriculture: 12.6 percent, industry: 29.5 percent, services: 57.9 percent (2006 est.).

Unemployment rate: 36 percent (2006 est.).

Budget: revenues: \$2.132 billion, *expenditures*: \$2.167 billion (2006 est.).

Exports: \$2.396 billion f.o.b. (2006 est.). *Export commodities*: food, beverages, tobacco; textiles, miscellaneous manufactures, iron, and steel. *Export partners*: Serbia and Montenegro 23.2 percent, Germany 15.6 percent, Greece 15.1 percent, Italy 9.9 percent, Bulgaria 5.4 percent, Croatia 5.2 percent (2006).

Imports: \$3.682 billion f.o.b. (2006 est.). *Import commodities*: machinery and equipment, automobiles, chemicals, fuels, food products. *Import partners*: Russia 15.1 percent, Germany 9.8 percent, Greece 8.5 percent, Serbia and Montenegro 7.5 percent, Bulgaria 6.7 percent, Italy 6 percent (2006).

Free trade agreements: Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU (2001), Ukraine, Turkey, the European Free Trade Association countries (Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Switzerland). Bilateral agreements with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, UN Mission in Kosovo, and Moldova were replaced with the membership in the Central European Free Trade Agreement, December 2006.

Foreign Relations

States recognizing the name "Republic of Macedonia": United States, United Kingdom, Russia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Canada, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Turkey.

Countries recognizing the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia": Greece, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Australia, India, Vatican.

States that have used both names: Austria, Albania.

Membership in international organizations: BIS, CE, CEI, EAPC, EBRD, FAO, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, ICt, ICRM, IDA, IFAD, IFC, IFRCS, ILO, IMF, IMO, Interpol, IOC, IOM (observer), IPU, ISO, ITU, ITUC, MIGA, OIF, OPCW, OSCE, PCA, PFP, SECI, UN, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNIDO, UNWTO, UPU, WCL, WCO, WHO, WIPO, WMO, WTO.

Sources: CIA Factbook, 2007; U.S. State Department; Wikipedia.

Appendix B

Institutions and Officeholders in Macedonia

Secretaries General of the Communist Party/ Union of Communists of Macedonia

Lazar Koliševski	March 1943–July 1963
Krste Crvenkovski	July 1963–March 1969
Angel Čemerski	March 1969–May 1982
Krste Markovski	May 1982–May 1984
Jakov Lazarovski	June 1986–1989
Petar Gošev	1989–April 1991

Republican Leaders

Presidents of the Presidium of ASNOM

Metodija Andonov-Čento	2 August 1944–15 March 1946
Lazar Koliševski	16 March 1946–29 December 1946

Presidents of the People's Republic of Macedonia (Socialist RM after July 1963) Assembly

Dr. Boris Spirov	30 December 1946–30 December 1947
Dimitar Nestorov	30 December 1947–3 January 1951

Dimče Stojanov-Mire	4 January 1951–18 December 1953
Lazar Koliševski	19 December 1953–5 April 1958
Lazar Koliševski	15 April 1958–26 June 1962
Ljupčo Arsov	26 June 1962–24 June 1963
Vidoe Smilevski-Bato	25 June 1963–12 May 1967
Mito Hadživasilev-Jasmin	12 May 1967–22 September 1968
Nikola Minčev	23 September 1968–6 May 1974
Blagoja Taleski	7 May 1974–27 April 1982
Boško Stankovski	28 April 1982–28 April 1984
Kata Lahtova	28 April 1984–25 April 1985
Stanko Mladenovski	25 April 1985–28 April 1986
Dr. Vulnet Starova	28 April 1986–8 September 1991

Presidents of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

Vidoe Smilevski	Vančo Apostolski
Ljupčo Arsov	Dragoljub Stavrev
Angel Čemerski	Jezdimir Bogdanski
Blagoja Taleski	Vladimir Mitkov
Tome Bukleski	

Prime Ministers of the People's/Socialist Republic of Macedonia

Lazar Koliševski	1945–1953
Ljupčo Arsov	1953–1961
Aleksandar Grličkov	1961–1965
Nikola Minčev	1965–1968
Ksente Bogoev	1968–1974
Blagoja Popov	1974–1982
Dragoljub Stavrev	1982–1986
Gligorije Gogovski	1986–1991

Republic of Macedonia Presidents

1. Kiro Gligorov (nonparty, pro-SDAM)	18 September 1991–4 October 1995
Stojan Andov (LP, caretaker)	17 November 1995–18 December 1999
Savo Klimovski (DA, caretaker)	4 October 1995–17 November 1995
	19 November 1999–15 December 1999

2. Boris Trajkovski 15 December 1999–26 February 2004
 (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary
 Organization-DPMNU)
 Ljupčo Jordanovski (SDAM, caretaker) 26 February 2004–12 May 2004
3. Branko Crvenkovski (SDAM) 12 May 2004–

Republic of Macedonia Governments

Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev 27 January 1991–17 August 1992
 (nonparty)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Blaže Ristovski, Jovan Andonov, Bekir Zhuta (PDP)

Foreign Affairs: Denko Maleski

Defense: Risto Damjanovski, Trajan Gocevski

Interior: Jordan Mijalkov, Ljubomir Frčkoski

Justice and Administration: Gjorgji Naumov

Finance: Metodija Toševski

Economy: Stojan Trajanovski

Development: Goce Petreski

Construction, Transport, and Environment: Aleksandar Lepavcov

Agriculture, Forests, and Water Supply: Ivan Angelov

Labor and Social Policy: Iljaz Sabriu (PDP)

Education: Dimitar Dimitrov

Science: Gjorgji Efremov

Culture: Cvetan Grozdanov

Health: Perko Kolevski

Information: Martin Trenevski

Ministers without portfolio: Jane Miljevski, Ilija Andonov-Čento, Alaetin Toska
 (PDP)

Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski 5 September 1992–20 December 1994
 (SDAM)

Note: government ministers come from the premier's party, unless indicated otherwise.

Deputy Prime Ministers: Stevo Crvenkovski, Jovan Andonov, Bekir Zhuta (PDP)

Defense: Vlado Popovski (nonparty, SDAM quota)

Interior: Ljubomir Frčkoski (nonparty, SDAM quota)

Justice and Administration: Tuše Gošev

Foreign Affairs: Denko Maleski (nonparty, SDAM quota, until February 1993),
 Stevo Crvenkovski (LP)

Finance: Xhevdat Hajredini (PDP)

Economy: Petruš Stefanov

Development: Sofija Todorova

Construction: Antoni Pešev

Agriculture: Eftim Ančev

Education: Dimitar Bajaldžiev (nonparty, SDAM quota)

Culture: Güner Ismail

Health: Jovan Tofovski

Ministers without portfolio: Jane Miljevski, Ljupčo Trpeski, Gordana Siljanovska, Servet Avziu (PDP)

Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski 20 December 1994–30 November 1998
(SDAM)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Zlatka Popovska, Dimitar Buzlevski, Naser Ziberi (Social Affairs)

Foreign Affairs: Stevo Crvenkovski (LP, until February 1996), Ljubomir Frčkoski (until May 1997), Blagoj Handžiski

Justice: Vlado Popovski (until May 1997), Gjorgji Spasov

Defense: Blagoj Handžiski (until May 1997), Lazar Kitanovski

Interior: Ljubomir Frčkoski (until February 1996), Tomislav Čokrevski

Finance: Jane Miljevski (until February 1996), Taki Fiti

Economy: Risto Ivanov (LP, until February 1996), Bekir Zhuta (PDP, until May 1997), Boris Rikalovski

Construction: Jorgo Šundovski (until May 1997), Tome Trombev

Development: Bekir Zhuta (PDP, until May 1997), Abdimenaf Neziri (PDP)

Transport and Communications: Dimitar Buzlevski (until May 1997), Abdylmenaf Bexheti (PDP)

Science: Sofija Todorova (until February 1996), Aslan Selmani

Culture: Eshref Aliu (PDP, until May 1997), Slobodan Unkovski

Education: Emilija Simoska (nonparty, SDAM quota) (until February 1996), Sofija Todorova

Health: Ilija Filipče (until May 1997), Petar Iliovski

Agriculture: Eftim Ančev (until February 1996), Nikola Parakeov (until May 1997), Kiro Dokuzovski

Labor and Social Policy: Abdimenaf Neziri (PDP, after February 1996)

Ministers without portfolio: Güner Ismail, Saško Stefkov, Ljube Trpeski, Muhamet Halili, Jane Miljevski (after February 1996), Xhemal Hajdari (PDP, after February 1996), Vlado Naumovski (after February 1996).

Prime Minister Ljubčo Georgievski 30 November 1998–1 November 2002
(IMRO-DPMNU)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Dosta Dimovska (until January 2002), Radmila Kiprianova-Radovanović (DA, until December 1999), Bedredin Ibraimi (DPA, Labor and Social Policy, until May 2001), Vasil Tupurkovski (DA, December 1999–

November 2000), Xhevdet Nasufi (DPA, from May 2001), Kemal Musliu (DPA, from May 2001), Zoran Krstevski (LP, from May 2001), Ilija Filipovski (SDUM, May–November 2001)

Foreign Affairs: Aleksandar Dimitrov (DA, until November 2000), Srgjan Kerim (LP, until May 2001), Ilinka Mitreva (until November 2001), Slobodan Čašule (ND)

Defense: Nikola Kljusev (until August 2000), Ljuben Paunovski (until May 2001), Vlado Bučkovski (SDAM, until November 2001), Vlado Popovski (LP)

Justice: Vlado Kambovski (DA, until December 1999), Xhevdet Nasufi (DPA, until May 2001), Inxhet Memeti (DPA)

Interior: Pavle Trajanov (DA, until December 1999), Dosta Dimovska (until May 2001), Ljube Boškovski

Finance: Boris Stojmenov (until December 1999), Nikola Gruevski

Trade: Nikola Gruevski (until December 1999), Miljana Danevska (until August 2000; the ministry was merged with the Ministry of Economy)

Economy: Žanko Čado (DA, until May 1999), Mihajlo Tolevski (until December 1999), Borko Andreev (until November 2000), Besnik Fetai (DPA)

Development: Milijana Danevska (until December 1999), Trajko Slavevski (until August 2000; the ministry was merged with the Ministry of Economy)

Transport: Bobi Spirkovski (DA, until August 2000), Ljupčo Balkoski (Minister of Transport and Construction)

Construction: Duško Kadijevski (until August 2000)

Agriculture: Vladimir Džabirski (until May 1999), Marjan Gjorčev

Environment: Toni Popovski (DA, until November 2000), Vladimir Džabirski

Health: Stojan Bogdanov, Petar Miloševski (LDP, until November 2001), Gjorgji Orovčanec (ND)

Culture: Dimitar Dimitrov (until December 1999), Ljuben Paunovski (until August 2000), Ganka Samoilovska-Cvetanova

Science: Merie Rushani (DPA, until December 1999), Nenad Novkovski (until August 2000)

Information: Rexhep Zlatku (DPA, until December 1999), Vebi Bexheti

Education: Nenad Novkovski (until December 1999), Gale Galev (Minister of Science and Education from August 2000)

Sport and Youth: Georgi Boev

Diaspora: Martin Trenevski

Local self-government: Xhevdet Nasufi (DPA, until December 1999), Xhamail Saiti (DPA, until May 2001), Faik Arslani (DPA)

Ministers without portfolio: Gjorgji Naumov, Adnan Kâhil (DA), Ernad Fejzullahu (DPA), Xhevdet Nasufi (DPA), Zoran Krstevski (LP, November 2000–May 2001), Radovan Stojkoski (LDP, 1999)

Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski 1 November 2002–12 May 2004
(SDAM)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Radmila Šekerinska (European Affairs), Musa Xhaferi (DUI), Petar Gošev (LDP, Finance, until November 2003)

Interior: Hari Kostov (nonparty, SDAM quota)

Defense: Vlado Bučkovski

Foreign Affairs: Ilinka Mitreva

Finance: Nikola Popovski (from November 2003)

Economy: Ilija Filipovski (until November 2003), Stevčo Jakimovski (LDP)

Justice: Ismail Dardhishta (DUI, until November 2003), Hixhet Mehmeti (DUI)

Transport and Communications: Milaim Ajdini (DUI, until November 2003), Agron Buxhaku (DUI)

Local Self-Government: Aleksandar Geštakovski

Agriculture, Forests, and Water Supply: Slavko Petrov (LDP)

Health: Rexhep Selmani (DUI)

Labor and Social Policy: Jovan Manasievski (LDP)

Education: Aziz Pollozhani (DUI)

Culture: Blagoj Stefanovski

Environment and Urban Planning: Ljubomir Janev

Minister without portfolio: Vlado Popovski (LDP)

Prime Minister Radmila Šekerinska 12 May 2004–2 June 2004
(SDAM, caretaker)

Prime Minister Hari Kostov (nonparty) 2 June 2004–18 November 2004

Deputy Prime Ministers: Radmila Šekerinska (European Affairs), Musa Xhaferi (DUI)

Interior: Siljan Avramovski

Defense: Vlado Bučkovski

Foreign Affairs: Ilinka Mitreva

Justice: Hixhet Mehmeti (DUI)

Economy: Stevčo Jakimovski (LDP)

Agriculture, Forests, and Water Supply: Slavko Petrov (LDP)

Local Self-Government: Aleksandar Geštakovski

Labor and Social Policy: Jovan Manasievski (LDP)

Culture: Blagoj Stefanovski

Transport and Communication: Agron Buxhaku (DUI)

Environment and Urban Planning: Ljubomir Janev

Health: Rexhep Selmani (DUI)

Education: Aziz Pollozhani (DUI)

Minister without portfolio: Vlado Popovski (LDP)

Prime Minister Radmila Šekerinska 18 November 2004–17 December 2004
(SDAM, caretaker)

Prime Minister Vlado Bučkovski 17 December 2004–26 August 2006
(SDAM)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Radmila Šekerinska (European Affairs), Minčo Jordanov, Musa Xhaferi (DUI), Jovan Manasievski (LDP, Defense)

Interior: Ljubomir Mihajlovski

Foreign Affairs: Ilinka Mitreva

Finance: Nikola Popovski

Labor and Social Policy: Stevčo Jakimovski (LDP)

Economy: Fatmir Besimi (DUI)

Justice: Meri Mladenovska-Gjorgjievska

Transport and Communications: Xhemail Mehazi (DUI)

Agriculture: Sadulla Duraku (DUI)

Culture: Blagoja Stefanovski

Education and Science: Aziz Pollozhani (DUI)

Health: Vladimir Dimov

Local Self-Government: Rizvan Sulejmani (DUI)

Environment and Urban Planning: Zoran Šapurić (LDP)

Minister without portfolio: Vlado Popovski (LDP)

Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski 26 August 2006–26 July 2008
(IMRO-DPMNU)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Gabriela Konevska-Trajkovska (European Affairs), Zoran Stavreski, Imer Aliu (DPA), Živko Jankulovski (New Social Democratic Party)

Foreign Affairs: Antonio Milošoski

Defense: Lazar Elenovski (New Social Democratic Party)

Interior: Gordana Jankulovska

Justice: Mihajlo Manevski

Finance: Trajko Slaveski

Economy: Vera Rafajlovska (New Social Democratic Party)

Agriculture, Forests, and Water Supply: Aco Spasenoski (Socialist Party)

Health: Imer Selmani (DPA)

Education and Science: Imer Rushiti (DPA)

Labor and Social Policy: Ljupčo Meškov (LP)

Local Self-Government: Zoran Konjanovski, Abduduraman Memeti (after June 2007, PDP)

Culture: Ilirjan Beqiri (DPA), Arifhikmet Xhemaili (after April 2007, DPA)

Transport and Communications: Mile Janakieski

Environment and Planning: Xhelil Bajrami (DPA)

Ministers without portfolio: Vele Samak, Adnan Kâhil (Party of the Movement of the Turks), Gligor Tašković, Ivo Ivanovski (after December 2006)

Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski 26 July 2008–
(IMRO-DPMNU)

Deputy Prime Ministers: Ivica Bocevski (EU affairs), Zoran Stavreski, Abdylakim Ademi (DUI)

Foreign Affairs: Antonio Milošoski
 Defense: Zoran Konjanovski
 Interior: Gordana Jankulovska
 Justice: Mihajlo Manevski
 Finance: Trajko Slavevski
 Economy: Fatmir Besimi (DUI)
 Agriculture, Forests, and Water Supply: Aco Spasenoski (Socialist Party)
 Health: Bujar Osmani (DUI)
 Education and Science: Pero Stojanovski
 Labor and Social Policy: Xhelal Bajrami (DUI)
 Local Self-Government: Musa Xhaferi (DUI)
 Culture: Elizabeta Kančeska Milevska
 Transport and Communications: Mile Janakieski
 Information Society: Ivo Ivanovski
 Environment and Planning: Nexhati Jakupi (DUI)
 Ministers without portfolio: Neždet Mustafa (United Party for Emancipation), Hadi
 Neziri (Democratic Party of Turks)

Speakers of the Parliament

Vullnet Starova (LCM)	8 September 1990–8 January 1991
Stojan Andov (LP)	8 January 1991–6 March 1996
Tito Petkovski (SDAM)	6 March 1996–19 November 1998
Savo Klimovski (DA)	19 November 1998–30 November 2000
Stojan Andov (LP)	30 November 2000–4 October 2002
Nikola Popovski (SDAM)	4 October 2002–8 November 2003
Liljana Popovska (LDP, acting)	8 November 2003–18 November 2003
Ljupčo Jordanovski (SDAM)	18 November 2003–1 August 2006
Ljubiša Georgievski (IMRO-DPMNU)	1 August 2006–12 April 2008
Trajko Siljanovski (IMRO-DPMNU)	21 June 2008–

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography includes books and articles on both the Republic of Macedonia and the wider geographical region of Macedonia. It covers publications in the major Western languages as well as in several Balkan languages (Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian/Croat/Bosnian, and Greek). Much of the literature deals with the Macedonian Question in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, a subject that is singularly politicized. Controversial issues include the national sympathies and aspirations of the Macedonian Slavs prior to the emergence of socialist Yugoslavia; the history of the Macedonian language; the ideas and objectives of the Internal Macedonian(-Adrianopolitan) Revolutionary Organization (IMARO, IMRO) and its grand figures such as Goce Delčev; and the roles played by the Balkan states and the great powers in the disputed region. The clashing viewpoints are aptly summarized in Kyril Drezov's chapter in *The New Macedonian Question* edited by James Pettifer (1998) as well as *The Macedonian Question: Culture, Historiography, Politics* (2000) edited by Victor Roudometof.

Much of the existing work, even when contributing to the study of

modern Macedonia, is molded by a particular national perspective—Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, and, after 1944, Macedonian, in the narrow ethnonational sense of the word. Yugoslav Macedonian historians such as Manol Pandevski, Krste Bitoski, or Ivan Katardžiev, working in institutions such as the Institute of National History, have sought to demonstrate the continuity between the IMRO's left wing and the Macedonian nation-state formed within Yugoslavia, which gained its independence in 1991. Since the late 1960s, this view has come under attack by historians in Bulgaria (Kostadin Pandev and Kostadin Palešutski, as well as the Macedonian Scientific Institute in Sofia, which reopened in 1990) asserting the Bulgarian character of the movement in Ottoman Macedonia and Thrace. The heated polemics are reviewed in the masterful and well-informed study by Stefan Troebst, *Die bulgarisch-jugoslawische Kontroverse um Makedonien 1967–1982* (1983) translated into Macedonian in 1997. Another critical strand is represented by a younger generation of historians in the Republic of Macedonia, such as Zoran Todorovski and Violeta Ačkoska, ideologically close to the IMRO-DPMNU party. These have mounted an effort to rehabilitate right-wing figures of the interwar IMRO, notably Todor Aleksandrov, who was previously rejected as a Bulgarian loyalist, as part of the Macedonian national tradition.

Salonica, home to the Institute of Balkan Study and the Society of Macedonian Studies, is the third major center for the study of modern Macedonia. Over time those institutions and researchers associated with them—here I should mention Evangelos Kofos, Vassilis (Basil) Kondis, and Vassilis Gounaris—have researched Greek political, social, and cultural history in Macedonia, including a subject known in Greece as “the Macedonian Struggle, 1904–1908” against Bulgarians and Turks. They have also made contributions on the social and economic history of the late Ottoman period as well as to the study of the crucial decade of the 1940s (see John Koliopoulos, *Plundered Loyalties: World War II and Civil War in Greek West Macedonia*).

The writings of Western academics and observers are perhaps the best introduction to Macedonia. Though they often lack the richness of detail and at times reproduce uncritically problematic interpretations crafted by the Balkan historiographies, such authors attempt to steer an objective course through the stormy waters of emotionally charged disputes. Hugh Poulton's *Who Are the Macedonians?* (second edition,

2000) is a reliable entry point for the general reader. The book examines the postindependence politics in the Republic of Macedonia against the background of the country's turbulent history. Poulton himself is a human rights activist, and he is at his best when it comes to the discussion of minorities inside Macedonia and the role of Islam. As the book was published in 2000, it is slightly outdated and does not cover the 2001 conflict and the period following the Ohrid Framework Agreement. One should therefore read Poulton's work in conjunction with more recent publications such as the reports of the International Crisis Group or *Macedonia: Warlords and Rebels in the Balkans* (2004) by John Phillips, a correspondent with *The Times*, which chronicles the turbulence of the early 2000s.

If the reader is tempted to delve further into the historical aspects of the Macedonian Question with all its twists and turns (or mutations, to borrow a phrase from Kofos), he or she should consult titles such as Duncan Perry's *The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movements 1893–1903* (1988), devoted to the IMRO and its *Doppelgänger*, the Supreme Macedono-Adrianopolitan Committee, and *Die Mazedonische Frage* (1979) by the German historian of the late Ottoman Empire Fikret Adanır; both studies rely to a great extent on primary archival material. For its part, *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* by Henry Wilkinson (1951) examines the ways in which nationalist claims were mapped out onto the region's social fabric.

Another valuable source is the accounts of Western travelers and journalists in "Turkey in Europe" like the oft-quoted *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (1906) by Henry N. Brailsford. The author visited the region after the Ilinden Uprising as a representative of the British Relief Fund, which also employed another Edwardian authority on the Balkans, Edith Durham. Brailsford depicts in a vivid manner rural life in Macedonia as well as the social impact of rival nationalist programs.

Regrettably, the history of Vardar Macedonia in Yugoslavia, both in the interwar decades and after the end of World War II, remains understudied by Western historiography. Postwar Macedonian scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the "National Liberation Struggle" of 1941–1944. Burdened by the ideological schemata of Marxist history writing, it made a major effort to prove the local partisans' contribution

to the communist resistance against the Axis forces occupying Yugoslavia led by Josip Broz Tito. The volume by Stephen Palmer and Robert King *Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question* (1971), originally a report prepared for the U.S. Department of State, paints a more objective picture of the communist movement and its profound impact on the process of nation-building unfolding from the mid-1940s onward. Another excellent analysis is Stefan Troebst's article "Yugoslav Macedonia 1943–1953: Building the Party, the State, and the Nation" (1997). One major shortcoming of these otherwise-perceptive accounts is the top-down perspective that highlights the role of the Titoist party machine but neglects processes of social and generational change that were underway in "Southern Serbia" from the end of the 1910s.

Aiming to address the above shortcoming, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation* (2003) by the anthropologist Keith Brown explores the interaction between multifaceted local memories and identities with the grand narratives of nationhood as well as the fluidity of collective labels like "Macedonians," "Bulgarians," "Vlachs," or "Greeks." Brown contends that questions such as "who are the Macedonians?" distort our understanding of the complex and often contradictory processes of identity formation. For instance, the book traces the continuity between the commemorations of the Ilinden Uprising in the town of Kruevo during the years of Bulgarian occupation and in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Brown's insights resonate with other anthropological studies, such as Anastasia Karakasidou's *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood. Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia 1870–1990* (1997), which was greeted with incredible hostility at the time of publication when tensions over the Macedonian issue were particularly high in (northern) Greece. It also speaks to the interesting work on local and urban history by Bernard Lory and Vassilis Gounaris, both focusing on the city of Bitola/Monastir.

Beyond social history, one area where research is wanting is the history of the diverse communities in the Republic of Macedonia, such as the Albanians, the Turks, or the Roma. The Ohrid Framework Agreement was yet another reminder that the present-day republic is a conglomerate of ethnic and religious groups. This has been obscured by the focus on the "classical" Macedonian Question centered on the Slavic population. This contention underscores the 1998 volume by James Pet-

tifer ominously titled *The New Macedonian Question*, which is chiefly concerned with the postindependence period. The shortcoming is partly mended by authors such as Hugh Poulton and, recently, the Serb historian Vladan Jovanović (*The Yugoslav State and Southern Serbia, 1918–1929*, published in Serbian in 2002).

What is also lacking is a comprehensive account in English of Macedonia's politics and society following the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation seen in the light of postcommunist transitions across Eastern Europe. Bogdan Szajkowski's *Macedonia* (2006) comes closest, but it is not widely available. Most scholars, notably renowned specialists such as Stefan Troebst or Ulf Brunnbauer, devote their attention to identity politics and the historiographical battles in the post-Yugoslav period. There is also a literature on the conflict with Greece, including Aristotle Tziampiris, *Greece, European Political Cooperation and the Macedonian Question* (2000) and John Shea, *Macedonia and Greece: The Struggle to Define a New Balkan Nation*, which approaches the issue from a pro-Slavic Macedonian angle.

There are a number of archival collections relevant to the study of Macedonia, both the country and the wider region. As far as the former is concerned, the first port of call is the State Archive of Macedonia in Skopje, an institution founded in 1951 by the then Yugoslav republic. It not only covers the post-1944 decades but also holds ample primary materials related to the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and the affiliated diaspora organizations in Bulgaria that belonged, until July 1947, to the Macedonian Scientific Institute in Sofia. The archive also operates local branches in Skopje, Tetovo, Bitola, Prilep, Kumanovo, Veles, Strumica, Ohrid, and Štip. Another resource is the National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje.

Outside the Republic of Macedonia, there are important document collections to be found in various institutions in the neighboring countries: Bulgaria (the Central State Archive in Sofia, the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Historical Archive at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Regional Archive in Blagoevgrad); Greece (the General State Archives at the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs and, in particular, the Historical Archives of Macedonia and the collections at the Institute for Balkan Studies, both in Salonica); Serbia (the Archive of Serbia, the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and, especially with regards to the 1944–1991

era, the former Archive of Yugoslavia); and Albania (the Albanian State Archive in Tirana). There are large repositories of diplomatic reports at the archival institutions in the major European capitals, such as London's Public Record Office or the *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv* in Vienna, a good part of which have been published in Skopje, Salonica, and Sofia (see the relevant section below). One should also mention the Comintern archives, part of Russia's Federal Archival Agency, whose contents are now extensively digitalized (www.comintern-online.com). Needless to say, for those researching the Ottoman period, the Istanbul-based Directorate of Ottoman Archives is indispensable.

Since the mid-1990s, the Internet has become a fertile ground for disseminating information on Macedonia's history, current politics, and society. Much like the case of official historiographies, a great deal of the content is marked by the symbolic battles around the Macedonian Question in its multiple shapes and forms. Yet the exponential growth of the web has brought online a range of valuable resources readily available to the individual researcher. The advent of Wikipedia has been particularly beneficial, although the variety—and reliability—of its authors is at times questionable. The encyclopedia's English version now features a broad range of entries on Macedonia, republic and region, which give a voice to many different perspectives and provide copious links to external sites. The best access points are en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Republic_of_Macedonia and [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macedonia \(region\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macedonia_(region)). If one would wish to delve further into the nitty-gritty aspects of the Republic of Macedonia's economy and social trends, one should consult the website maintained by the State Statistical Office (www.stat.gov.mk), available also in English. Popular Skopje-printed dailies such as *Utrinski vesnik* (Morning Herald, www.utrinski.com.mk), *Dnevnik* (Diary, www.dnevnik.com.mk), or the Albanian-language *Koha* (Time, www.koha.com.mk) are now fully online, including archives of articles going back to the early 2000s. This is also the case of the news service on A1, a privately owned TV channel (www.a1.com.mk). English speakers are advised to refer to the following websites: www.mia.com.mk (Macedonian Information Agency), www.birn.eu.com (Balkan Investigative Reporting Newtork), www.rferl.org (Radio Free Europe), or www.setimes.com (Southeast European Times).

The web abounds with sites containing articles and books on the modern history of Macedonia (region). Irrespective of their somewhat

partisan approach to the subject, digital libraries such as Macedonian Heritage (www.macedonian-heritage.gr) and Online Books about Macedonia (www.kroraia.com/knigi/en) are an excellent source, as they contain a wealth of academic publications, historical photographs, images, and video footage. There are also interesting and well-designed pages dealing with the social and cultural history of (post-)Yugoslav Macedonia that deserve mention: for instance, Old Skopje documenting city life in the interwar period (www.staroskopje.vestel.com.mk) or the website of the Macedonian Film Center (www.maccinema.com).

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Macedonia: An Initial Assessment.” *Post-Communist Economies* 5, no. 3 (1993): 351–368.

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

General Information

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Republic_of_Macedonia: Portal in Wikipedia.
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macedonia_\[region\]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macedonia_[region]): Information on the wider geographic regions of Macedonia.
www.macedonia.co.uk: Macedonian Cultural and Information Center, an English-language portal.

Society and Economy

www.stat.gov.mk/english/glavna_eng.asp: State Statistical Office, containing rich data on Macedonia's society and economy in both Macedonian and English.
www.staroskopje.vestel.com.mk: Life in Skopje 1918–1941, in Macedonian.
www.macedoniacities.com: Information on Macedonian cities.
www.mse.org.mk: Macedonian Stock Exchange.
www.mchamber.org.mk: Macedonian Chamber of Commerce.
www.investinmacedonia.com: Portal maintained by the Agency for Foreign Investment.
www.nbrm.gov.mk: National Bank of Macedonia.

Culture and Education

www.maccinema.com: A comprehensive website covering the development of Macedonian cinema, containing a searchable database in both English and Macedonian.
www.nubsk.edu.mk: National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid.
www.manu.edu.mk: Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
www.ukim.edu.mk: St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Skopje.
www.mnt.com.mk: Macedonian National Theater.
www.blesok.com.mk: Blesok (Shine), a cultural periodical.
www.mactheater.edu.mk: Institute for Theater Studies, Skopje.
www.heritage.gov.mk: Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.
www.culture.in.mk: Culture in Macedonia.
makedonija.rastko.net: Subpage on Macedonia in Project Rastko, a portal on southern Slavic culture and ethnography, containing an e-library.
www.svp.org.mk: Struga Poetry Evenings Festival.

- www.skopjejazzfest.com.mk: Skopje Jazz Festival.
- www.lebisol.com.mk: Leb i sol, a legendary jazz-rock band from Skopje.
- www.vlatkostefanovski.com.mk: Vlatko Stefanovski, a renowned guitar player.
- www.manchevski.com.mk: Milčo Mančevski, an award-winning film director.
- www.sistersandbrothermitevski.com: Innovative film production company based in Skopje.
- www.leksikon-yu-mitologije.net: Dictionary of Yugoslav popular culture.

History

- www.arhiv.gov.mk: State Archive of Macedonia.
- www.soros.org.mk/archive: Web page developed by the State Archive of Macedonia in Skopje, containing historical documents and images.
- www.macedonian-heritage.gr: Greek site containing a range of academic publications.
- www.kroraina.com/knigi/en/: Bulgarian online library on the history of Macedonia.
- quod.lib.umich.edu/b/bosnia/: Travels in Southeastern Europe, an e-library containing Western travelers' accounts of the Balkans.
- www.makedonika.org/ini: Institute for National History, Skopje.
- www.auburn.edu/forlang/macedonia/mmm: Collection of Slavic and Greek manuscripts from medieval Macedonia.
- www.cdnh.edu.mk/index.php: Digitalizing National Heritage, an Internet portal to various projects presenting the history, folklore, and nature of the Republic of Macedonia. Maintained by the Institute of Informatics, Skopje University.
- www.cassorla.net: Sephardim of Monastir, information about the Jewish community in Bitola.
- www.angelfire.com/super2/vmro-istorija: The history of the IMRO, containing biographical data, historical documents, and books about Macedonia.
- www.mmkm.kcl.ac.uk/main.htm: Mapping Migration in Castoria, a website containing demographic and geographical data on population movements in the western parts of present-day Greek Macedonia since 1880.
- www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/macedonia.html: Collection of historical maps at the Perry-Castañeda Library, University of Texas.
- www.inisbgd.co.yu/celo/publikacije.htm: *History Currents*, a journal published by the Institute for Modern Serbian History.
- www.imma.edu.gr: Museum of the Macedonian Struggle, Salonica, containing academic articles and other resources on Macedonia's history in the 19th and 20th centuries.
- www.osaarchivum.org: Open Society Institute archives, containing documents and reports on Yugoslavia during the Cold War, including items related to international politics in the Balkans and the Macedonian Question.
- www.digital.nbs.bg.ac.yu/novine/politika: Electronic archive of Politika, a Belgrade daily, 1904–1941, containing articles and news items about Macedonia.

doda.albanianphotography.net/en/photos.html: Photographs of the Reka Region in Macedonia taken by Bajazid Elmaz Doda in 1907. The website is maintained by Robert Elsie, a prominent Albanologist, www.elsie.de.
www.imxa.gr: Institute for Balkan Studies, Salonica.
www.macedonia-science.org: Macedonian Scientific Institute, Sofia.
www.udi.org.yu: Association for Social History, Belgrade.
anamnesis.info: A Bulgarian online historical journal.

Institutions

www.sobranie.mk: National Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia.
www.vlada.mk: Government of the Republic of Macedonia.
www.president.gov.mk: President of the Republic of Macedonia.
www.mfa.gov.mk: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia: The EU's relations with Macedonia.
www.sep.gov.mk: Secretariat for European Affairs, a government agency.
www.bim.org.mk: Islamic community.
www.mpc.org.mk: Macedonian Orthodox Church.
www.zels.org.mk: Association of the Local Self-Government Entities.

Media

www.dnevnik.com.mk: *Dnevnik*, a daily newspaper.
www.utrinskivesnik.com.mk: *Utrinski vesnik*, a daily newspaper.
www.koha.com.mk: *Koha*, an Albanian-language daily.
www.a1.com.mk: A1, a TV channel.
www.mia.com.mk: Macedonian Information Agency.
www.vest.com.mk: *Vest*, a daily newspaper.
www.lobi.com.mk: *Lobi*, an Albanian-language newspaper.
www.makfax.com.mk: Makfax, a news agency.
www.micnews.com.mk: Macedonian Information Center, a news agency.
www.rferl.org: Radio Free Europe.
www.birn.eu.com: Balkan Investigative Reporting Network.
iwpr.net: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
www.kapital.com.mk: *Kapital*, a business journal.
www.novamakedonija.com.mk: *Nova Makedonija*, a daily newspaper.
www.setimes.com: *Southeast European Times*.
www.telma.com.mk: Telma, a TV channel.
www.kanal5.com.mk: Kanal 5, a TV channel.
sitel.com.mk: Sitel, a TV channel.
www.vecер.com.mk: *Večer*, a daily newspaper.

Political Parties

www.vmro-dpmne.org.mk: IMRO-DPMNU.
www.sdsm.org.mk: SDAM.
www.bdi.org.mk: DUI.
www.pdsh.info: DPA.
nsdp.org.mk: New Social Democratic Party.
www.lp.org.mk: Liberal Party.
www.ppd.org.mk: Party for Democratic Prosperity.

Policy Institutes and Nongovernmental Organizations

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1244&l=1: Reports on Macedonia by the International Crisis Group.
www.esiweb.org: European Stability Initiative.
www.newbalkanpolitics.org.mk: *New Balkan Politics*, an online academic journal.
www.transparency.org.mk: Transparency, an anticorruption watchdog.
www.crpm.org.mk: Center for Research and Policy Making.
www.analyticamk.org: Analytica.
www.soros.org.mk: Open Society Institute Macedonia.
www.euba.org.mk: Euro-Balkan Institute.
www.mhc.org.mk: Macedonian Helsinki Committee.
www.makturk.com: Turkish Community in the Republic of Macedonia.
www.boristrajkovski.org: Boris Trajkovski International Foundation.
www.mim.org.mk: Macedonian Media Institute.
www.znm.org.mk: Journalist Association of Macedonia.
www.sonce.org.mk: Roma Democratic Development Association Sonce (Sun).
www.most.org.mk: Most (Bridge), a civic association.
fri.org.mk: Islamic Youth Forum.
www.idscs.org.mk: Institute for Democracy.
www.lastrada.org.mk: La Strada, a campaign against the trafficking of women.
www.mzl.org.mk: Macedonian Women's Lobby.
www.institute.org.mk: Institute for European and International Studies.

Diaspora

www.pollitecon.com: Pollitecon, a Macedonian publisher in Australia. The website contains the archives of the *Makedonska Iskra* (Macedonian Spark) newspaper published from 1946 to 1957.
www.umdiaspora.org: United Macedonian Diaspora.
www.macedonian.org: Macedonian Patriotic Organization.
www.unitedmacedonians.org: United Macedonians Organization of Canada.

About the Author

Dimitar Bechev is a research fellow at the European Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford. He is also affiliated with South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), a program based at St. Antony's College that is one of the leading UK institutions in the field of area studies. His academic interests cover contemporary Balkan affairs, the international relations of post-Cold War Europe, the external policies of the European Union, postcommunist transitions, nationalism, and identity in world politics. Originally from Bulgaria, Dimitar Bechev has conducted extensive research on the modern history and present-day politics of the region of Macedonia, including through several study trips to the Republic of Macedonia and northern Greece in the period 2004–2008. His articles have appeared in *East European Politics and Societies*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, and *Millennium*. He also specializes in current policy analysis for various think tanks, including *Oxford Analytica*, a renowned political and economic consultancy. Dimitar Bechev holds a DPhil in international relations from Oxford (2005) and master's degrees in law and international politics from the University of Sofia (Bulgaria).